

THE IDENTITY REGULATION OF CLOSE OTHERS

BY

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This dissertation is dedicated to the members of my family who have supported me throughout the years: My mother, father, brother, Grandma Britt, and Grandma Hannah.

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The present research examined how individuals describe close and nonclose others to audiences. Although prior research has examined how individuals process and present self-relevant information in order to create a desired impression, virtually no research has examined how individuals act to protect or enhance the identities of close or nonclose others. In Study 1, subjects presented their partner, either a same-sex friend or a stranger, to an audience who was either aware or unaware of their partners' past positive and negative personality feedback. Subjects also rated the validity of the positive and negative feedback, the extent to which their partner possessed the feedback-relevant traits, and how important the traits were to their partner. Study 2 was identical to Study 1 except all subjects presented and made ratings for their romantic partner. Results indicated that subjects presented close

others more favorably than nonclose others on most traits primarily when the audience was aware of the partners' past performance; this effect was found for traits irrelevant to the feedback and traits relevant to the positive feedback. In comparison to nonclose others, close others denounced the validity of the test relevant to the negative feedback, were less likely to let the negative feedback influence their perceptions of how important the desirable trait was to their partner, and actually presented their partner more favorably on the trait relevant to the negative feedback. These results were obtained when the close-nonclose dimension was defined as presenting a friend or a stranger in Study 1, and when the dimension was defined in terms of subjects scoring high versus low on various relationship characteristics in Study 2. The implications of the results for the areas of identity regulation, close relationships, symbolic interactionism, and models of self-evaluation are discussed.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Consider the following examples: (A) A father brags about his son's good grades to the neighbors, emphasizing how the performance was driven by effort and ability. However, when he is explaining the child's poor showing on the baseball field to the neighbors, he stresses bad luck and the stomach flu. (B) Mary is describing her friend Sue to a potential blind date. Mary stresses that Sue is attractive and intelligent, yet fails to acknowledge that Sue is also quite pompous. (C) Linda is fired from her job as an attorney. Her husband Bill stresses that the economy is poor, and that Linda possesses the skills to go out and find another, more enjoyable, job. (D) The wife of a United States congressman announces on television that the bouncing of 200 checks was her fault, not her husband's, because she handles the finances. (E) Partners on morning news programs brag about one another's unique blend of caring and intelligence.

What do the preceding examples all have in common? In each case an individual is actively attempting to regulate the image of a close other. That is, the individual's efforts are geared toward presenting the other in the best possible light. In social life, people frequently help

others achieve identity-relevant goals. Close friends and romantic partners, through the ways they interpret and explain each other's behavior, are constantly influencing the identities of one another.

Despite the pervasiveness and importance of these phenomena, Schlenker and Weigold (1992) noted that virtually no research had been devoted to examining how people manage the identities of those who are close to them, or the implications of such behavior for the well-being of the relationship. Although little research has examined how we manage the identities of others, a great deal of research has focused on how we regulate our own identities (see Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Schlenker, 1980; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992; for reviews). This research falls in the areas of impression management or self-presentation.

The term impression management is often viewed synonymously with deceit, duplicity, and insincerity. The prototypical impression manager is the used car salesman or the politician. Those individuals who engage in impression management are portrayed as Machiavellians who are concerned with public facades as opposed to private realities (cf. Buss & Briggs, 1984). The association of nefarious images with impression management is sustained through theoretical models which define the concept in terms of inauthenticity (Buss & Briggs, 1984; Jones & Pittman, 1982).

The reputation of impression management in large part derives from the belief that it is self-centered, being limited to the exploitation of others for personal gain. However, as the above examples illustrate, identity regulation need not always be self-directed. Individuals manage not only their own identities, but the identities of others as well. After reviewing research on how and why individuals manage their own identities, Schlenker and Weigold (1992) called for innovative research and theory designed to assess how and why individuals manage the identities of others.

The purpose of the present research is to begin to examine how individuals regulate the images of people who are close to them. Individuals may use many of the same image management techniques that are normally classified as "self-serving" to help close others attain desired identity images. Some examples of these self-serving strategies are as follows: (A) That individuals will present themselves modestly on attributes on which they have performed poorly, but only if an audience is aware of the poor performance. If the audience is unaware of the poor performance, individuals present themselves in a self-enhancing manner (Baumeister & Jones, 1978; Schlenker, 1975). (B) If an audience is aware of an individual's poor performance, the individual will compensate by rating himself or herself higher on positive attributes irrelevant to the poor

performance (Baumeister & Jones, 1978). (C) That individuals will take personal responsibility (e.g., effort, ability) for success, but attribute responsibility for failure to external factors such as task difficulty and bad luck (Pyszczynski & Greenberg, 1987; Schlenker, Weigold, & Hallam, 1990; Weary-Bradley, 1978).

Individuals may evidence the same sorts of biases when describing a close other to an audience or when explaining the causes of a close other's performance. That is, individuals should downplay the weaknesses and emphasize the strengths of a close other when describing that person to someone else. Individuals should also present a close other differently to an audience depending on whether the audience is aware or unaware of information about the other. Individuals should also explain negative events that happen to a close other as being more a function of external factors than internal factors. Furthermore, the tendency to engage in these beneficial forms of impression management for others should be related to aspects of the individual's relationship with their partner. When viewed in this manner, traditionally "self-serving" biases can be viewed as "other-serving" as well. The present research therefore provides an account of when and why identity regulation of others occurs, and examines how the tendency to regulate the identity of close others is related to aspects of the individuals' relationship with the other.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The present review begins with a history of research addressing identity regulation of the self and then describes some newly forming areas within the impression management program of research that have begun to take identity regulation of others into account. Research outside the traditional domain of impression management that addresses how individuals influence one another will also be discussed in terms of its relevance to the impression regulation of others. A theory will then be presented describing when, how, and why individuals regulate the identities of others. Finally, two studies will be proposed to examine whether individuals actually do regulate the identities of others, and whether aspects of the relationship between individuals are related to the tendency to engage in beneficial impression management for others.

Identity Regulation of Self

Impression management can be defined as the goal-directed activity of attempting to control the impressions that others form of the self or some other entity, event, or idea (Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Schlenker, 1980). Self-presentation is usually considered to be a subclass of impression management, where individuals attempt to control

the impressions that others form of themselves (Schlenker, 1986). Impression management is usually used as a more general term to refer to the controlling of impressions of not only the self, but also organizations, nations, etc (Schlenker & Weigold, 1992).

As Goffman (1959) noted in his seminal work, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, "When an individual appears in the presence of others, there will usually be some reason for him to mobilize his activity so that it will convey an impression to others which it is in his interests to convey" (p. 4). Individuals do not passively sit back and let other people form impressions of them. Rather, individuals are active agents who attempt to control the impressions that others form of them (Schlenker & Weigold, 1989). The view of individuals as actively attempting to create their environment so as to attain desired goals is consonant with other theoretical viewpoints that view people not as passive recipients of external stimulation, but active agents in the creation of reality (Bandura, 1977; Showers & Cantor, 1985; Swann, 1987).

Some theorists have defined impression management as the intentional act of deceiving someone else for personal gain (Buss & Briggs, 1984; Jones, 1964). However, certain models of impression management do not equate the concept with deception. Baumeister (1982) and Schlenker (1980, 1985) offer broader interpretations of impression management

that allow for actors actively striving to present themselves in a manner that is congruent with their private conceptions of self. Schlenker (1985) introduced the term self-identification to refer to "the process, means, or result of showing oneself to be a particular type of person, thereby specifying one's identity" (p. 65). Self-identifications can be either accurate or inaccurate and can be made toward either a public or private audience (Schlenker, 1986). It should be noted that self-presentation is a subclass of self-identification, where the attempt is to influence the impressions that others form of ourselves. Self-identification is a broader term that allows for information being presented not only to others, but to the self as well.

As Schlenker (1980) noted, the editing of information to present to audiences is a fundamental feature of social life. During any given interaction, only a small portion of the total information about oneself can be presented. Self-identifications involve packaging this information to create the desired impression, whether it be an accurate or inaccurate portrayal of what the self is really like. Research supporting the idea that individuals attempt to control the impressions that others form of them is voluminous (Baumeister, 1982; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Schlenker, 1975, 1980; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992; Tedeschi, 1981; Tetlock & Manstead, 1985). More detail about self-

presentation research will be given later, when the identity regulation of others is discussed.

The fact that self-identifications can be directed toward the self as audience also allows for the theory of self-identification to incorporate a large body of previous research, including findings that individuals (a) take personal responsibility for success but blame external factors for failure (Pyszczynski & Greenberg, 1987; Schlenker et al., 1990; Weary-Bradley, 1978), (b) will place external obstacles in their path, or help someone who is likely to outperform them, so as to have an excuse for poor performance (Berglas & Jones, 1978; Shepperd & Arkin, 1991; Snyder, 1991), (c) rate themselves higher than others on socially desirable attributes, but lower than others on socially undesirable attributes (Alicke, 1985), (d) attribute motivation for helping others to internal causes rather than external causes (Doherty, Weigold, & Schlenker, 1990; Schlenker, Hallam, & McCown, 1983), and (e) maintain self-serving illusions of control and superiority in the face of disconfirming evidence (Taylor & Brown, 1988; Brown, 1991).

Schlenker (1986) and Schlenker and Weigold (1989, 1992) argued that the process underlying all of these phenomena is the goal-directed activity of attaining desired identity images. What constitutes a desired identity image? Schlenker (1980, 1985, 1986) and Schlenker and Weigold

(1989, 1992) argued that the desirability of an identity image is a joint function of its beneficiality and believability. Desired identity images are beneficial to the extent that they bring the actor rewards that he or she deems important (i.e. wealth, status, love) and are believable to the extent that they are supported by the available evidence (i.e. current salary, factual knowledge). Individuals construct situated identities that represent the best compromise between beneficiality and believability (see Baumeister & Jones, 1978; Kunda, 1990; Pyszczynski & Greenberg, 1987; Schlenker, 1975, 1986).

The view of desired identity images as representing glorified, yet reality-edited impressions of the self can be contrasted with the more content-based analyses of the types of impressions individuals attempt to create. For example, Jones and Pittman (1982) developed a taxonomy of attributions (impressions) sought by actors that include ingratiation (liking), intimidation (power), self-promotion (competence), exemplification (moral worthiness), and supplication (dependence). Jones and Pittman (1982) noted that different types of situations make particular impressions more or less likely. The taxonomy developed by Jones and Pittman (1982) has not generated a great deal of research. Most of the research that has been generated has been concerned with showing that the different types of self-presentations are in fact distinct (e.g. Godfrey,

Jones, & Lord, 1986). Although developing individual difference measures of the five types of strategic self-presentation might lead to more productive lines of research, Jones and Pittman (1982) recommend against adopting an individual difference approach to strategic self-presentation (but see Arkin, 1981; Arkin & Shepperd, 1990).

It is important to note that impression regulation is not a transient phenomenon that takes place at a single point in time. Rather, it is a negotiated process where actors involved in an interaction construe the situation in a manner that allows the interaction to proceed smoothly (Goffman, 1959, 1967). This entails actors in an interaction claiming a situated identity and then acting in line with that identity through the course of the interaction.

Schlenker (1985), in his analysis of self-identification, described the process that an individual goes through to attain a desired identity. He noted that self-identification always occur within a given situational context, and in front of a given audience. Based on an analysis of the audience and situation, the individual formulates desired identity images for the occasion, and these desired images guide behavior throughout the self-identification process. If the individual feels he or she is making suitable progress toward attaining the desired

identity, the self-identification process proceeds smoothly, and the actor experiences positive affect. However, if the self-identification process is disrupted through some obstacle or impediment, the individual must reformulate a plan for attaining the desired identity image. If the desired identity image cannot be obtained, the individual must develop a new desired image taking into account the given obstacles.

Schlenker (1980, 1985) noted that often times during the course of social interactions, undesired events occur, and the individual must account for his or her actions (Scott & Lyman, 1969; Semin & Manstead, 1983). Accounts are generally categorized as belonging to three different classes: excuses, justifications, and apologies (Schlenker, 1980; Scott & Lyman, 1969; Semin & Manstead, 1983; Tedeschi & Riess, 1981). Excuses involve denying responsibility for the event by noting other factors that produced the event. Justifications involve taking some responsibility for the event, but then trying to change the interpretation of the event as negative. Apologies involve accepting blame for the event, expressing remorse, and perhaps offering some form of restitution (Schonbach, 1980).

An individual will adopt an account so as to reconcile the undesired event with his or her desired identity images. If the account offered for the undesired event restores the actor's desired identity, positive affect will be

experienced, and the individual will continue the interaction. However, if the account fails to deal adequately with the undesired event, the actor will experience negative affect and attempt to withdraw from the interaction. If withdrawal is not possible, the individual will be trapped in a maladaptive cycle of negative self-assessment, resulting in social anxiety (Leary, 1983; Schlenker & Leary, 1982) and in extreme and prolonged cases, perhaps even mental illness (Schlenker, 1980, 1987; Schlenker, Weigold, & Doherty, 1991).

As will be seen below, the process of identity regulation for self has implications for the identity regulation of others as well. That is, some of the same factors that influence our own cognitive, affective, and behavioral reactions during the course of attempting to attain our desired identity images should also affect our attempts to help others attain their desired identity images. Impression regulation research that begins to anticipate the identity regulation of others will now be considered.

Impression Regulation Research: Others Considered Tact and Protective Practices

Goffman (1959) addressed the role of others in self-presentation, but not in terms of how people actively attempt to manage the identities of others. Goffman's (1959, 1967) discussion of others centered around the

obligation we have to respect the identities other people claim and to treat them in a way consonant with the claimed identity. Goffman (1959) also argued that all individuals participating in social interaction had the obligation to help one another maintain their definition of the situation, and should an "incident" arise, all individuals involved should immediately engage in protective practices, or "tact," to restore the interaction to a state of balance. Goffman (1955) discussed a variety of means by which we could enable others to maintain the identity they had claimed, including not divulging information that would embarrass the individual. If questions regarding the other's identity do arise, they should be framed in a way that does the least damage possible to the face of the other.

Goffman (1959) also discussed the role of the other in self-presentation in his analysis of teams. He noted that individuals often cooperate to create a given impression and that members of the team involved in creating the impression will work together so as to maintain an agreed upon definition of the situation. Goffman (1959) gave the example of two staff doctors working together to insure that their knowledge of patients in the hospital is greater than that of the young intern.

It is clear that Goffman interpreted steps to "protect the face" and support the identities of individuals involved

in interaction as crucial to the maintenance of civil relations. In addition, Goffman (1959) correctly noted the importance of teams in the creation of impressions. However, Goffman's account of how individuals manage the identities of others is incomplete. According to Goffman's (1955) account, the motivation for tact and protective practices does not stem from the desire to help others attain desired identity images, but rather from an implicit norm of reciprocity that others will show the individual similar protective practices in the future. Goffman (1959, 1967) also did not discuss the ways in which individuals involved in a close relationship regulate one another's identity. Rather, Goffman's (1959) discussion of how the closeness of a relationship influences self-presentation is limited to a footnote where he argues that "when the person knows the others well, he will know what issues ought not to be raised and what situations the others ought not to be placed in, and he will be free to introduce matters at will in all other areas" (p.16).

The use of tact and politeness in social interaction has recently been extended by Brown and Levinson (1987) in their theory of politeness. These authors argue that in anticipation of threatening another person's face, individuals tend to be more or less polite, depending on the situation. Individuals tend to be more polite with individuals who are more powerful than they and who are

socially distant. In addition, the more severe the individual's transgression, the more polite the individual should be. Although Brown and Levenson's (1987) model notes the role of others in self-presentational circumstances, the authors view politeness as more a universal of language than a strategic attempt to benefit others.

The Effects Accounts Have on the Identity of Others

Gonzales and her colleagues (Gonzales, Manning, & Haugen, 1992; Gonzales, Pederson, Manning, & Wetter, 1990) have made the astute observation that the accounts individuals invoke to extricate themselves from compromising events have implications not only for the identity of the actor, but for the identity of the recipient of the account as well. Using a taxonomy developed by Schonbach (1980, 1985), Gonzales et al. (1990, 1992) conceptualized accounts as falling under four categories: concessions, excuses, justifications, and refusals. They further noted that the different types of accounts have different implications for the identity of the individual delivering the account and the recipient of the account.

Concessions, which involve claiming responsibility for the action and offering compensation, yield the maximum threat to the identity of the actor, but yield minimal threat to the identity of the recipient. Excuses, which involve attempts to deny responsibility by appeal to external factors, help the actor to "save face," yet

threaten the identity of the recipient by calling into question his or her perception of responsibility. Justifications, which involve accepting responsibility for the event but attempting to redefine the transgression as less undesirable, also help the actor's identity, yet also question the recipient's definition of the situation. Finally, refusals, which involve a denial of responsibility as well as challenging the right of the recipient to question the actor's responsibility, represent minimal damage to the actor's identity but maximal damage to the identity of the recipient.

Gonzalez and her colleagues (1990, 1992) found that women tend to use more complex accounts than men and that women tend to proffer more concessionary accounts than men. Furthermore, Gonzales et al. (1992) found a curvilinear relationship between blameworthiness of the event and the number of concessions offered in the account, such that transgressions of moderate blameworthiness (acts of negligence) generated more concessionary accounts than acts of mild blameworthiness (accidents) or severe blameworthiness (intentional acts).

Gonzales and her colleagues should be applauded for introducing the identity of the other as a factor in the proffering of accounts. However, Gonzales et al. (1992) did not obtain evidence that different accounts are given because of the individual's concern about the identity of

others. Rather, Gonzales et al. (1992) found that the type of account offered did not affect the degree to which subjects thought the recipients of the account would be pleased or displeased. This suggests that the differential use of accounts is not driven by concern about what the audience will feel or think. Further research is needed to determine that concern with the other's "face" is a motivational force driving the differential use of accounts.

Although no evidence was uncovered for the idea that individuals use different types of accounts to protect the face of others, Weiner, Folkes, and their colleagues (Folkes, 1982; Weiner, Amirkhan, Folkes, & Verette, 1987; Weiner, Figueroa-Munoz, & Kakiara, 1991) have obtained evidence that individuals communicate different varieties of a particular account, excuses, in order to influence another's reaction. Folkes (1982) had individuals recall times when they rejected another individual for a date and to report the reason they gave for rejecting the rejectee. Using Weiner's (1986) attributional taxonomy, Folkes (1982) categorized the excuses along the dimensions of locus of causality, controllability, and stability. She found that the excuses provided to the rejectee tended to be external to the rejectee, uncontrollable, and unstable.

In a second study Folkes (1982) asked female subjects to assume that they had refused a dating request and that to pretend the real reasons for the refusal were those provided

by the experimenter. The provided excuses were varied along the dimensions of locus of causality, stability, and controllability. Subjects were asked which excuses they would and would not give to the rejectee. Folkes (1982) found that subjects refrained from communicating reasons that were internal to the rejectee (e.g. bad looks), and were especially likely to mention reasons external to the rejectee (e.g. I had the flu). Therefore, the subjects in these studies appear to be strategically presenting different types of excuses in order to control the reactions of the person who is rejected. Whether this strategic reporting represents concern for the recipient or self-concern has not been determined. That is, by not proffering excuses that harm the rejectee, the rejector also benefits by avoiding unnecessary conflict.

Weiner et al. (1989) extended the research of Folkes (1982). In their study (Study 4), pairs of subjects reported to the experiment in separate rooms. The experimenter then told one of the subjects in each pair that they were doing a study on first impressions and that they could begin once their partner arrived to the experiment. The experimenter told the other subject that he wanted them to do a little bit of acting, pretending they were late for the experiment, and to offer the other subject either: a good excuse, a bad excuse that would anger the subject, or any excuse the subject wanted to make up. A fourth condition was included

where subject were not instructed to make any excuses. Following the subject's provision of their excuse, the other subject rated how angry they felt, as well as their perceptions of the excuse-giver.

Weiner et al. (1989) found that subjects instructed to give good excuses or any excuse they wanted generated excuses that were external and uncontrollable (e.g., "I had to take my mother to the hospital"), whereas those subjects instructed to give bad excuses generated excuses that were internal and controllable (e.g., "I ran into some friends and talked"). Furthermore, subjects who received a good excuse or any excuse rated the confederate more positively and were less angry than subjects given a bad excuse. These results suggest that not only do subjects have hypotheses about the types of excuses likely to generate particular affective reactions, but also that these hypotheses are accurate, in that internal and controllable excuses do elicit more anger and negative reactions than excuses that are external and uncontrollable.

Although Folkes and Weiner showed that individuals will present excuses to others that differ from those privately believed and that individuals possess knowledge of the reactions generated by different types of excuses, there is no solid evidence that the strategic presentation of excuses is driven by concern with the recipient of the excuse. In fact, Weiner et al. (1991) could not tease apart the

motivational explanations of self-concern versus concern for others as reasons for why individuals provide external and uncontrollable excuses to the recipients.

Excuse-giving represents a fertile field for the study of beneficial impression management. Future research could examine whether individuals use different types of excuses to control the impression that an audience might form of the recipient of the excuse. Showing that individuals strategically present excuses so as to control the impression that another forms of the recipient of the excuse would be clear evidence for the existence of beneficial impression management. Research on excuse giving should also examine the strength of relationship between the recipient of the excuse and the excuse-giver as a moderator of the tendency to proffer external and uncontrollable excuses for negative events.

The Reluctance to Transmit Bad News

Tesser and Rosen (1975a; Rosen & Tesser, 1970) have conducted a number of studies indicating that people are reluctant to transmit bad news to others. In the original study indicating the effect, Rosen and Tesser (1970) had subjects hear a message that a peer (who would soon be arriving) needed to call home about very bad news. When given a chance to transmit the message to the peer, almost no subjects told the peer that the call was about bad news and instead simply instructed them to "call home." The mum

effect has been replicated in many experiments (see Tesser & Rosen, 1975a; Bond & Anderson, 1987, for reviews), which have revealed that individuals use a variety of strategies for lessening the impact of bad news on the recipient (Conlee & Tesser, 1973; Fisher, 1979; Folkes, 1982).

Why does the mum effect occur? Tesser and Rosen (1975a) offered three possible explanations: self-concern, concern for the recipient, and to comply with social norms. Regarding self-concern, Tesser and Rosen (1975a) noted that individuals may fail to transmit bad news because of guilt, concern about being evaluated negatively by the recipient, or because they do not want to damage their mood. Regarding concern for the recipient, individuals may withhold bad news because they do not want to make the recipient emotionally upset, reasoning that the recipient really does not want the bad news. Finally, the social norms explanation suggests that it may be socially inappropriate to communicate bad news to strangers.

Tesser and Rosen (1975a) reviewed research that is consistent with all three interpretations. In support of the guilt version of the self-concern explanation, Johnson, Conlee, and Tesser (1974) found that individuals are more likely to transmit bad news if they themselves might also receive bad news than if the recipient alone receives bad news. A more recent study by Bond and Anderson (1987) also supports the self-concern hypothesis. In their experiment,

subjects communicated success or failure feedback to a fellow subject (confederate), either believing that their partner could or could not see them. Visible subjects took twice as long to administer negative feedback in comparison to positive feedback. However, subjects who were not visible to their partner delivered positive and negative feedback with the same latency. Bond and Anderson (1987) interpreted their results as reflecting that individuals do not experience intrapsychic discomfort at delivering bad news, but rather evidence public concern over being seen by the recipient.

In support of the "concern about the recipient" hypothesis, Tesser and Rosen (1975b) found that a majority of subjects report that the reason they failed to give the bad news is because it would upset the recipient. In addition, Conlee and Tesser (1973) found that subjects were equally likely to transmit good and bad news when the recipient supposedly wanted to hear the news.

In support of the social norm hypothesis, Tesser, Rosen, and Batchelor (1972) found that subjects reported feeling less obligated to transmit bad news than good news. Tesser and Rosen (1975a) noted that future research is needed to address how norms regarding the transmission of bad news develop.

Although the primary motivation underlying the reluctance to transmit bad news is somewhat elusive, the

important point is that individuals, through the provision (or in this case lack of provision) of social information, influence the identity of others. The mum effect indicates how individuals are sensitive to the influences that their transmittal of information can have on others.

Interestingly, no research was uncovered that addressed how the transmission of bad news could be used by individuals to control the impression that another person forms of the recipient.

There is also a need for research on the role of closeness between the individual delivering the bad news and the recipient of the bad news. The only study that can be construed as examining the role of closeness in the transmission of bad news was conducted by Blumberg (1972). Blumberg (1972) asked subjects to report whether they would communicate positive and negative information to either a friend or a stranger (i.e., Bob seems rather conceited [bright]. Would you talk with Bob about this?). Blumberg (1972) found that subjects were more likely to communicate both positive and negative information to a friend than a stranger. Further research is obviously needed to examine whether these results generalize from hypothetical situations to actual cases where an individual must communicate bad and good news to a friend or stranger. If the results do generalize, then the fact that close friends are more likely to communicate positive and negative

feedback may challenge Tesser and Rosen's (1975a) pessimistic conclusion that individuals might repeatedly fail to gain accurate feedback regarding their attributes and abilities.

Tesser's Self-evaluation Maintenance Model

The underlying assumption of beneficial impression management is that the stronger and healthier the relationship between two individuals, the more the individuals will be motivated to help each other attain desired identities. In contrast, Tesser's (1988) self-evaluation maintenance (SEM) model proposed that friends will sometimes attempt to harm the performance of a close other. Tesser's model will first be presented, and then the relationship between his model and beneficial impression management will be discussed.

Tesser (1988) began his model with the assumptions that individuals want to increase self-evaluation and that the way others close to the individual perform has an impact on the individual's self-evaluation. Tesser (1988) argued that two processes have the potential to come into play whenever a close other's performance is exemplary: the reflection process and the comparison process. The reflection process occurs when an individual "basks in the reflected glory" (Cialdini, Borden, Thorne, Walker, Freeman, & Sloan, 1976) of the other, feeling self-pride at being associated with a friend who did well. The comparison process occurs when the

individual suffers a reduction in self-evaluation as a function of the friend's superior performance, because his or her own performance pales by comparison. Given the psychological closeness of the friend (Festinger, 1954), the comparison results in enhanced negative feelings.

Tesser (1988) argued that the major determinant of whether the reflection or comparison process will come into play is the relevance, or importance of the task to the individual's identity. If a friend outperforms the individual on a task that is unimportant to the individual, he or she will exhibit increased self-evaluation and positive affect. However, if the friend outperforms the individual on a task that is very important to the individual, he or she will exhibit decreased self-evaluation and negative affect. Interestingly, there is no place in Tesser's (1988) model for the relevance of the activity to the friend's identity. What would happen if a friend outperforms an individual on a task relevant to both of their identities? We will have more to say about the possibilities later.

Tesser (1988) argued that if a friend outperforms the individual on a self-relevant dimension, the individual will either reduce the importance of the dimension to his or her sense of self, or distance him or herself from the friend. In addition, if given the chance to influence a friend's performance on a highly self-relevant task, the individual

may attempt to undermine the performance of the friend to avoid suffering from negative social comparison.

Tesser's (1988) SEM model has generated a large amount of research, most of which is consonant with the major tenets of his theory. A representative study was conducted by Tesser and Smith (1980). They had subjects bring a friend to the laboratory. Two pairs of friends arrived for the experimental session, and all four subjects were separated. All subjects were told they would participate in a verbal task that was described as tapping very important skills (high relevance) or that the task was unrelated to intelligence or ability (low relevance). The task was similar to the game "Password." Tesser and Smith (1980) rigged the situation so that two of the four subjects performed poorly. These subjects were then given the opportunity to provide either easy or difficult clues to both their friend and a stranger.

Tesser and Smith (1980) found that when the relevance of the verbal task was low, the friend was helped more than the stranger in 10 out of 13 sessions. However, when relevance was high, the stranger was helped more than the friend in 10 of the 13 sessions. This study clearly supported predictions derived from the self-evaluation maintenance model. Individuals appear to harm (or at least not help) a friend's performance on a task that is high in self-relevance (importance).

Although Tesser's (1988) model has received empirical support, there are characteristics of his research program that limit the model's utility as a general theory describing how individuals regulate the identities of others. In every study generated by the model, the performance of the subject is being explicitly or implicitly compared to the superior performance of the friend (see Tesser, 1988). For example, in the study described above by Tesser and Smith (1980), subjects were made to perform poorly, thereby forcing explicit comparison with the friend and stranger. This explicit comparison places the focus of the research on the subject, and away from the friend or stranger. Therefore, Tesser's (1988) model has not generated research that deals with how individuals will influence and perceive a friend's or stranger's performance when they are not being explicitly or implicitly compared to the individual. These types of situations are prevalent in everyday life, as often times friends do not participate in the same activity or take the same form of some ability-relevant test.

Another problematic characteristic of Tesser's (1988) research program is that he treats closeness, or strength of relationship, as a dichotomous variable. That is, only two levels of closeness are employed in his research: friend or stranger. I uncovered no studies that examined the tendency for the strength of the relationship to moderate the effects

he and his colleagues obtain. It may be that the effects observed are mainly a function of friends who are not very close, and that good friends do not show the effects. Certainly, the relationship of friends who harm one another's performance on particular types of tasks is not likely to thrive in the future. Of course, Tesser (1988) would predict that as the relationship gets closer, the greater the potential for the individual to suffer by comparison (Heider, 1958), and therefore the more likely the individual should be to harm the other's performance. Future research is needed to assess the extent to which the strength and closeness of the relationship moderates the effects found by SEM researchers.

Tesser's (1988) program of research has focused solely on the perceptions of abilities and skills of friends and strangers. However, individuals in close relationships interpret events not only related to these dimensions, but also to dimensions such as emotions, values, and personality dimensions. It may be that the types of effects Tesser (1988) observes are limited to the dimensions of ability and skill that he has sampled.

Finally, the majority of research generated by the SEM model occurs in a social vacuum. That is, there are no interpersonal implications for the identities of the friends or strangers involved in the studies. What would happen if in the typical SEM study the friend's or stranger's

performance would be known by an important external audience? Would friends still harm one another's performance on a highly self-relevant task? What if the task being completed by the friends is highly relevant to both members of the relationship, yet only one of the friends would be publicly evaluated? Would the friend whose performance was private still harm his or her friend's performance?

These types of questions can only be addressed by a general model that specifies how and why individuals regulate the identities of those close to them, and how the strength of the relationship might moderate the tendency to engage in identity-supportive behaviors. However, Tesser's (1988) research is useful in specifying some of the conditions under which the identities of the individuals involved in a relationship will affect their tendency to support the identities of one another.

Research Outside the Impression Regulation Domain
Relevant to the Identity Regulation of Others

One of the major tenets of the present research is that individuals in a close relationship will attempt to help one another attain desired identities. Furthermore, the individual's efforts may be directed at both the partner alone and the audiences that are important to the partner. Therefore, research conducted in the area of close relationships (Clark & Reis, 1988) is relevant to the identity regulation of others.

Close Relationships and the Identity Regulation of Others

There has been a resurgence of interest in social psychology on how close relationships develop, prosper, and deteriorate (Clark & Reis, 1988; Derlega, 1984; Fitzpatrick, 1984; Gottman, 1979; Kelley, Berscheid, Christenson, Harvey, Huston, & Levinger, 1983). Kelley et al. (1983) defined a relationship as existing when the behaviors, thoughts, and feelings of two individuals were causally interconnected and interdependent. Members of relationships usually spend large portions of time together and influence one another's decisions and goals (Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto, 1989).

What is the outcome of interdependence for individuals involved in a relationship? Aron, Aron, and their colleagues (Aron, Aron, Tudor, & Nelson, 1991; Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992) suggested that the net effect of interdependence is the inclusion of the other into one's sense of self (see also Levinger & Snoek, 1972). Aron et al. (1991) reported a number of studies suggesting that relationship partners are in fact included in one's sense of self. The authors found that subjects evidenced less of a discrepancy in distribution of resources with a friend than with a stranger. They also found that subjects evidenced longer latencies when making "me/not me" decisions for traits that were different between them and their spouse than for those traits that were shared by them and their

spouse. This result offers support for the idea that there is a fusion between self and spouse in memory.

The idea that people incorporate images of the other into their sense of self has implications for why individuals may seek to manage the impressions of close others. By helping partners to attain their desired identities, individuals in a sense attain their own desired identities. Results of studies indicating that people will "bask in the reflected glory" of others (Cialdini & Richardson, 1980) indicate how others' identity images may be incorporated as one's own.

The sharing of desired identity images may be one of the main reasons why individuals with similar traits and qualities are attracted to one another (Buss, 1985; Byrne, 1971; Newcomb, 1961). As a result of high interdependence, conditions exist for the other to be incorporated into the self. However, if members in a relationship have divergent sets of identity images (e.g. one member values solitude, while the other is a "social animal"), then this incorporation may be difficult to accomplish. Indeed, one of the main reasons for termination of relationships is incompatible desired identity images.

Perhaps the most relevant research in the close relationship area to the identity regulation of others is how partners within a relationship attempt to validate the identities of one another (Derlega, 1984; Fitzpatrick, 1984;

Gottman, 1979; Reis & Shaver, 1988). The key premise in an impression management approach towards relationships is that individuals have a set of desired identity images and partners in a relationship can act in ways to either validate, invalidate, or not affect these images. Schlenker (1984), as well as others (DePaulo, 1992), have noted that impression management is important in even already established relationships. The common complaint of "you're taking me for granted" represents one partner's disappointment at the other partner's insensitivity to the types of impressions he or she is creating.

Both partners within a given relationship have ideas about the types of people they want to be and whether their partner is enabling them to achieve their desired identities. The identities of the individuals involved in a relationship may represent private self-conceptions of the type of person they want to be, or represent public identities that are negotiated within a given situational context and in front of a particular audience (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Schlenker, 1986; Schlenker & Weigold, 1989). The discrepancy between a partner's desired and actual identity images in a relationship should serve as a strong predictor of the individual's satisfaction with the relationship.

The idea of relationship partners helping one another to achieve desired identities may explain the results of

research conducted by Bradbury and Fincham (1990) examining how couples' attributions for positive and negative partner behavior relates to relationship satisfaction. Research in this area has shown that attributing positive behavior from partners to internal factors and negative behavior to external factors is indicative of a healthy relationship, whereas the opposite pattern is likely to lead to relationship deterioration (Bradbury & Fincham, 1990). Why does such an attributional pattern lead to relationship satisfaction? Given that individuals can influence the private self-beliefs of close others, attributing positive behaviors internally and negative behaviors externally is likely to support the partner's attainment of desirable identity images, whereas the opposite pattern is likely to thwart the attainment of a positive identity.

The importance of desired identities in relationships is distinct from Swann's (1987) theory of self-verification, which asserts that individuals seek validation of their current self-images, even if these self-images are negative (Swann, 1990). An identity regulation approach to close relationships predicts that a discrepancy between current and desired self-images should lead to relationship dissatisfaction, not satisfaction, especially when the self-image is integral to the relationship. This would suggest that the validation of negative images (where the self-images are not desired) should lead to dissatisfaction with

the relationship. However, Swann's theory suggests that validation of negative self-images should lead to satisfaction with the relationship. Although some initial evidence suggests that individuals are more satisfied with spouses that validate their negative self-images (Swann, 1990), future research is needed to examine the replicability of these findings to not only current negative self-images, but also images individuals fear they will attain in the future (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

Social Support and the Identity Regulation of Others

Attempting to help close others attain desired identities can be viewed as the provision of a specific form of social support. Sarason, Sarason, and Pierce (1990) defined perceived social support as the belief that help will be provided if needed, and defined actual social support as the amount of help the individual is likely to receive if needed. Social support can therefore be viewed as a subset of identity regulation activities, where the receipt of the support is almost always aware of the support that is being provided. Although much research has examined the determinants and concomitants of perceived support (see Sarason et al., 1990), little research has examined the conditions under which social support is provided.

Research investigating the determinants of when close others will provide social support is crucial, given the apparent contradictory findings that social support both

increases (Kennedy, Kiecolt-Glaser, & Glaser, 1990) and decreases (Coyne, Aldwin, & Lazurus, 1981; Rook, 1984) psychological well-being. As Sarason, Pierce, & Sarason (1990) noted, the nature of the relationship may ultimately determine whether social support will lead to adjustment or maladjustment. Social support that is provided so as to dominate the individual, thereby threatening his or her sense of personal efficacy, is likely to be detrimental (Coyne & DeLongis, 1986; Nadler & Fischer, 1986).

Nadler and Fischer (1986) attempted to develop a more general model for understanding recipients reactions to help. They argue that help will be perceived as threatening "to the extent that it transmits a negative self-relevant message to the recipient, conflicts with important socialized values (e.g. independence and self-reliance; fairness in social relations), and fails to contain instrumental benefits" (p.90). Conversely, help will be perceived as supportive to the extent that it transmits positive self-images, is consonant with social norms, and contains information that instills feelings of efficacy in the individual.

Nadler and Fischer (1986) reviewed research that is in accord with the major tenets of their model. For example, Nadler, Fischer, and Ben-Itzhak (1983) reasoned that receiving help from a friend on a task that was highly central to the individual's sense of self would be

threatening, whereas help from a friend on a task not central to the individual's sense of self would be perceived as supportive (cf. Tesser, 1988). In support of their reasoning, subjects experienced more positive affect when they received help on a central task from a stranger in comparison to their friend, but experienced more positive affect when they received help on a non-central task from their friend in comparison to a stranger.

These results appear to suggest that social support from a friend on a highly self-relevant dimension may be perceived as threatening (cf. Tesser, 1988). However, a subsequent study by Nadler, Ben-Itzhak, and Fischer (1983) showed that when the friend or stranger gave the subjects specific instructions about how to increase their efficacy, help from a friend on an ego-relevant dimension actually resulted in more self-help than help from a stranger on an ego-relevant dimension. This suggests that if individuals give help to a friend on an important task, they should provide the help in a manner that promotes the friend's feeling of efficacy.

Research on social support and recipients' reaction to help does not address whether individuals actually do deliver help or support in a way that helps the individual receiving the support achieve their desired identity. For example, do friends or romantic partners actually provide help in such a way to increase the other's sense of

efficacy? Is the tendency to deliver identity-supportive help related to the strength of the relationship, and predictive of whether the relationship will thrive or deteriorate?

In addition, no research was uncovered that has examined whether the tendency to deliver help to close others and strangers differs depending on whether salient external audiences will be aware of the help. For example, individuals may be especially likely to provide identity-supportive forms of help when their friend or romantic partner is under the public scrutiny of others. Altering the types of help delivered to a friend or stranger based on the presence versus absence of an external audience would be clear evidence for beneficial impression management. These are questions that can be answered under a theoretical framework that specifies how individuals involved in a relationship help one another attain desired identities. I now turn to a preliminary model designed to address the identity-regulation of others.

The Identity Regulation of Others: A Theoretical Account

The foundations for an explanation of how, when, and why individuals regulate the identities of others should undoubtedly come from past theorizing on how individuals manage the identities of themselves. Therefore, the explanation to be presented draws heavily from past writings on how we manage our own identities (Goffman, 1959; Leary &

Kowalski, 1990; Schlenker, 1980, 1986). However, in switching the focus from the identity regulation of self to the identity regulation of others, a number of additional processes and factors come into play. These additional factors will be dealt with as the process by which individuals regulate the identities of others is described.

Impression Motivation and Construction

In their review of the impression management literature, Leary and Kowalski (1990) organized existing research according to whether it dealt with the processes of impression motivation or impression construction. Impression motivation refers to how motivated the individual is to create a given impression. Impression construction refers to what kinds of impressions individuals actually construct and the determinants of those impressions.

Leary and Kowalski (1990) argued that impression motivation is a function of the importance of the goal to the individual, the discrepancy between the current and desired image the individual has for the situation, and the relevance of creating an impression to attaining a goal in the situation. The more "public" the behavior, the greater the likelihood of future interaction with the individual, the more important the situation, and the farther away the individual is from attaining the identity he or she wants, the greater the motivation will be for the individual to engage in impression management (Arkin, Appelman, & Berger,

1980; Gergen & Taylor, 1969; Leary, Barnes, & Griebel, 1986; Leary & Kowalski, 1990).

Once the individual is sufficiently motivated to make a desired impression, the form that impression will finally take is determined by many factors. Leary and Kowalski (1990) argued that individuals' self-concepts, their desired and undesired identity images, their role constraints, audience values, and their current social image will all affect the impression individuals ultimately attempt to create. Impressions consonant with the self-concept and current role requirements are most likely (Schlenker, 1980, 1982, 1986). Individuals also possess a tendency to tailor their self-presentation to the values of the audience (Gaes & Tedeschi, 1978; Gergen, 1965; Zanna & Pack, 1975) and will not attempt to claim identities that are highly discrepant from what the audience knows about them (Baumeister & Jones, 1978; Schlenker, 1975).

Impression Motivation and Construction for Others

In general, the same factors that influence the identity regulation of self should influence the identity regulation of others. Individuals should be motivated to manage the impressions of others as the importance of the impression to the other increases. In addition, the kind of impression the individual will attempt to create of the other should be driven by the same considerations as those that would guide the other's own attempts at impression

management. That is, in order for an individual to regulate the identity of another, it is necessary for the individual to be able to infer the level of motivation the other would have for a given impression to be created, as well as understand the constraints inherent in the types of impressions that can be constructed.

In addition, just as individuals encounter predicaments in the regulation of their own identities (Schlenker & Weigold, 1992), they are likely to encounter predicaments in the identity regulation of others as well. If the individual encounters some form of obstacle or impediment when regulating the identity of another, he or she must go through the same reanalysis of the situation that would occur if his or her own identity was at stake. That is, the individual must offer an account that leads to the greatest reconciliation of the other's desired identity images with the current undesired event. The importance of accounting for undesired events might also arise if the close other, when attempting to regulate his or her own identity, suddenly encounters obstacles. In these cases, the individual should be able to infer that an incident has arisen, and help the other person to account for the event.

An example should make clear the issues faced by an individual who attempts to regulate the identity of another. Consider a husband and wife attending a cocktail party hosted by the wife's coworkers. If a husband is going to

attempt to regulate the impressions that others form of his wife, he needs to know how motivated his wife would be for others to form a given impression, as well as what types of impressions should be constructed. The husband should not spend a large portion of the evening trying to convince the company janitor of his wife's management skills. The husband should also not try to convince the wife's boss that she is very supportive of the Clinton administration, when her boss is a staunch conservative who served three terms in Vietnam. In addition, if the husband starts bragging about his wife to her boss and the husband gets the feeling that the boss is clearly aware that he is ingratiating, the husband will need to rethink his plan of action, so as to create the desired impression of his wife.

As this example indicates, it is not a simple task for an individual to regulate the identity of another. In order for beneficial impression management to occur, the individual needs to possess adequate knowledge of the other, including important aspects of the other's self-concept, types of identities the close other has claimed in the past, and characteristics of audiences important to the close other. In addition, the individual must be attuned to how regulation of the other's identity is proceeding and be prepared to engage in remedial tactics if the desired image is somehow threatened.

The previous example stressed the identity regulation of others in a public context. However, helping another person attain desired identities can occur in private as well. To continue with the previous example, imagine that the husband and wife have arrived home after the three hour long party. The wife confides in her husband that she felt really uncomfortable talking to her superiors at the party, and doubts whether she has what it takes to perform well in those types of situations. The husband can help regulate the identity of his wife by interpreting events in a way that supports the wife's desired identity. For example, the husband can stress that everyone is anxious in those types of situations, and that superiors even expect some degree of nervousness on the part of subordinates.

The above analysis suggests a number of individual difference variables that may affect the ability for an individual to manage the identity of another. For example, being high in empathy and perspective taking (Davis, 1984) should aid the individual in inferring how motivated another is for an audience to form a given impression. In addition, variables that have been hypothesized to be related to impression regulation of self, such as public self-consciousness (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975) and particularly self-monitoring (Snyder, 1974, 1987), may also influence the individual's impression regulation of others (but see Depaulo, Kenny, Hoover, Webb, & Oliver, 1987). It

may be that those individuals who are most effective at managing their own impressions are also the most effective at managing the impressions of others. Conversely, it may be that a preoccupation with self-regulation might harm attention being devoted to manage a close other's identity.

What Motivates Individuals to Regulate the Identities of Close Others?

The previous discussion addressed when individuals should be especially likely to manage the impressions of others, as well as some of the constraints on the forms these impressions may take. One question that has not been addressed is why close others might attempt to regulate the identities of others in the first place. In order to answer this question, the literature on the impression regulation of self is once again consulted.

Leary and Kowalski (1990) summarized the motives that self-presentation theorists have offered for why individuals attempt to manage the impressions that others form of them as falling into three classes: (a) maximizing the rewards and minimizing the costs attained in social relations, (b) enhancing self-esteem, and (c) attaining desired identities. That is, individuals engage in self-presentation to maximize social rewards (e.g. praise), to maximize their self-evaluation, and to express the types of individuals they want to be (Baumeister, 1982).

Regulating the identities of others can serve the above functions for the self, as well as for the close other.

That is, on the one hand, individuals may regulate the identity of another to maximize their own social outcomes, self esteem, or desired identities. Given that we are often evaluated according to the people with whom we are associated (Heider, 1958; Sigall & Landy, 1973), individuals have a stake in the impressions that others form of their relationship partners. Furthermore, research indicating a fusion of self and others in close relationships (Aron et al., 1991, 1992; Levinger & Snoek, 1972) suggests that individuals may manage the identity of another because the other is actually incorporated into their own identity.

However, individuals may also regulate the identity of others to maximize the other's social outcomes, self-esteem, and desired identities. That is, the individual managing the impression of a close other may not be driven by the thought of the self as being associated with the close other, but rather by a concern with helping the other to maximize his or her feelings of self-worth and attainment of desired identities. It is important to note that I do not believe that research can show, or be expected to show, that identity regulation of others has absolutely no benefits for the self. Rather, the impression regulation of others is likely to be motivated both by a concern with the other's identity and a concern with one's own identity.

When the identity regulation of others is framed in this manner, the issues involved are very similar to those

discussed by Batson (1987, 1991) in his analysis of whether altruism exists. Much has been learned about the motivations underlying helping behavior by attempting to specify when relatively altruistic versus egoistic concerns motivate helping behavior (see Batson, 1991; Cialdini et al., 1987).

However, it is perhaps unrealistic to expect to completely rule out that a given source of motivation is responsible for either helping behavior or the identity regulation of others. Rather, experimental and correlational methodologies can be used to support whether beneficial impression management is driven primarily by one motive or another. For example, if individuals manage the identities of others because they themselves are evaluated by association, then manipulated or individual difference variables that augment the "public connectedness" among individuals involved in a relationship should increase beneficial impression management. If beneficial impression management is driven by the desire to support the identity of others, then measures or manipulations of support should predict beneficial impression management (Schlenker, 1993).

Finally, variables such as relationship strength and satisfaction should also be related to beneficial impression management. As is evident from both the popular press and psychological research, many interpersonal relationships are dysfunctional. It may be that dysfunctional relationships

are characterized not only by a decreased interest in helping others to attain desired identities, but also by the increased motivation to actually prevent others from attaining the identities they desire.

The Present Research

Britt and Schlenker (1993) conducted some of the first research designed to examine strategic communication to benefit others. They found that individuals exhibited an "other-serving" bias when attributing causality for a friend's performance, exhibiting a greater difference in excuse-making for positive and negative performance for a friend than for a stranger. In addition, individuals rated the friend higher on cognitive ability when the friend had to meet with the experimenter than when there would not be a meeting, whereas they did not rate a stranger differently depending on whether the stranger expected to meet or not meet with the experimenter.

The present studies are designed to extend this line of research by examining whether individuals will engage in other types of beneficial identity regulation for a friend in comparison to a stranger and by examining how individuals' relationship with their close others influence how partners are presented to others and how information about partners is interpreted.

Two studies were conducted to examine these issues. The first study was designed to answer the question of

whether subjects strategically communicate information about close others to an audience based on the information the audience has about their partner. In the first study, subjects complete a questionnaire about their relationship with their same-sex friend, and are then placed in a situation where they have to present either their friend or a stranger to an audience who is either aware or unaware of their partners' positive and negative performances on two desirable traits. Subjects are required to present their friend or stranger on traits both relevant and irrelevant to their partner's performance, as well as to rate the validity of the tests relevant to the positive and negative feedback. Subjects also rate the extent to which their partner possesses the traits irrespective of the feedback, and indicate how important the traits are to their partner.

The second study was a partial replication and extension of the first study. In the second study romantic partners are placed in the same situation as in study 1, although subjects always present their romantic partner (not a stranger) to an audience who is either aware or unaware of the partner's past positive and negative performance. Subjects again rate the validity of the tests relevant to the positive and negative feedback, the extent to which the romantic partner possesses the trait, and how important the trait is to the partner. In study 2 aspects of the subjects relationship with their partner are used to predict how

subjects present their partner to an audience and interpret information about their partner.

"Strategic" presentation of the other is defined in the present research as altering the presentation or ratings based on audience awareness of the partners' prior performance. Audience awareness of feedback has been used by prior researchers to examine strategic impression management for the self (Baumeister & Jones, 1982; Schlenker, 1975).

Favorability of partner presentation. For study 1, the difference between the favorability of presentation for friends and strangers on the trait relevant to the positive feedback and irrelevant traits should be greater when the audience is aware of the partner's prior performance than when the audience is unaware of the partner's prior performance. When the audience is aware of negative information about the partner, subjects should be especially motivated to present their friend in a positive light in comparison to a stranger. Past research has shown that subjects will compensate for poor performance that is known by an audience by increasing the favorability of their self presentation on irrelevant traits (Baumeister & Jones, 1978). Although past research has shown that individuals will present themselves modestly following the receipt of positive performance feedback (Schneider, 1969), in the present study we do not expect subjects to present their

friend modestly on attributes relevant to superior performance. When an individual is presenting their friend to another audience, he or she may be especially likely to emphasize the individual's strengths.

Favorability of presentation on the trait relevant to the negative feedback is more difficult to predict. On the one hand, subjects may present their partner more unfavorably on the negative trait when the audience is aware of the partner's prior performance, and this difference might be magnified for a friend in comparison to a stranger. Past research has shown that individuals will present themselves modestly on attributes when an audience is aware of their past negative performance, but will present themselves positively on the same attributes when the audience is unaware of past negative performance (Baumeister & Jones, 1978; Schlenker, 1975). However, it is also possible that subjects will attempt to overcome the damaging effects of the negative feedback by bolstering the presentation of their friend more than a stranger on the trait relevant to the negative feedback when the audience is aware of the partner's prior performance.

For study 2, the difference between the favorability of presentation for subjects who are close versus nonclose to their romantic partner (as evidenced by higher versus lower scores on aspects of the Relationship Quality Questionnaire [Schlenker & Britt, 1994]) on the trait relevant to the

positive feedback and irrelevant traits should be greater when the audience is aware of the partner's prior performance than when the audience is unaware of the partner's prior performance. As in study 1, presentation of the partner on the trait relevant to the negative feedback is more exploratory. Which RQQ subscale results in the favorable versus unfavorable presentation of partner when the audience is aware of the prior performance will have implications for what is causing the enhanced presentation of a close other. For example, if the enhanced presentation of close others is driven by the degree of private connection between the subject and his or her partner (the subject sees the other as an extension of his or her private self), then the private connectedness subscale should produce the effect. However, if the enhanced presentation of close others is driven by the degree of public connection between the subject and his or her partner (the subject perceives that he or she is evaluated based on the public performance of his or her partner), then the public connectedness subscale should produce the effect. More information about each of the RQQ subscales will be presented in the method section.

Test validity. For study 1, subjects are expected to evidence a greater difference in validity ratings for the tests relevant to the positive and negative feedback for a friend than for a stranger. This would provide further

evidence for an "other-serving" bias among friends (Britt & Schlenker, 1993). Although this effect might be moderated by whether the audience is aware or unaware of the ratings, Britt and Schlenker (1993) found the same degree of other-serving bias under private and public conditions.

For study 2, subjects in a close relationship should evidence a greater difference in validity ratings for tests relevant to the positive and negative feedback than subjects in a nonclose relationship.

Trait possession. For study 1, subjects should report friends possessing the traits relevant to both the positive and negative feedback more than strangers. This difference might also be magnified when the audience is aware of the subject's ratings. For Study 2, subjects in a close relationship should rate their partner as possessing the traits to a greater degree than subjects in a nonclose relationship, with the effect being magnified when the audience is aware of the romantic partner's performance.

Trait importance Competing predictions exist for ratings of how important the trait is to the partner. On the one hand, research on the self has shown that subjects view a trait as less important when they perform poorly on the dimension than when they perform well (Tesser & Paulhus, 1983). If friends are viewed as an extension of self (Aron et al., 1991), this would lead to the prediction that there should be a greater difference in ratings of the importance

of the traits relevant to the positive and negative feedback for a friend than a stranger. However, decreasing the rating of the importance a desirable trait based on a single piece of negative information is to a certain extent maladaptive. Subjects may be less likely to let a single piece of negative information influence their perception of how important a desirable trait is to their friend than to a stranger, thereby resulting in a decreased difference in ratings of the importance of the positive and negative trait to a friend than a stranger.

Predictions in Study 2 for ratings of trait importance depend in part on the results of Study 1. If in study 1 subjects evidence a greater difference in ratings of the importance of the positive and negative traits for a friend than a stranger, then individuals in close relationships in study 2 should evidence a greater difference in ratings than individuals in a nonclose relationship. However, if in study 1 subjects evidence a lesser difference in ratings of the importance of the positive and negative traits for a friend than a stranger, then individuals in nonclose relationships in study 2 should evidence a greater difference in ratings than individuals in a close relationship.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS

Study 1

Subjects and Design

One-hundred fifteen (50 males, 65 females) students who were either taking introductory psychology or were the same-sex friends of students taking introductory psychology served as subjects. Subjects taking introductory psychology participated for experimental credit, whereas friends of the student who were not taking introductory psychology were able to compete for a prize of \$25.00 (to be given at the end of the semester) for participating.

The design of the study was a 2 (friend vs. stranger) X 2 (aware versus unaware of the feedback) X 3 (positive, negative, or irrelevant Impression Questionnaire items) mixed-model factorial. The first two independent variables were between-subjects, whereas the third was within-subjects.

Measures

At the beginning of the experiment subjects completed a packet of materials including questions about the length of relationship, time the subject spent with their friend each day, and the Relationship Quality Questionnaire (Schlenker & Britt, 1994; see Appendix A). Subjects also completed a

test similar to the Draw a Person Test (Goodenough, 1926; see Appendix A). The Draw a Person Test was used for the delivery of the personality feedback¹.

The Relationship Quality Questionnaire (RQQ) was developed by Schlenker and Britt (1994) to examine the extent to which beneficial impression management is related to different aspects of individuals' interpersonal relationships. The scale is designed to measure seven different facets of relationships relevant to beneficial impression management: (a) private connectedness, which refers to the degree to which the individual sees the partner as an extension of self (e.g. "I think of my friend as part of myself"), (b) public connectedness, which refers to the individuals feeling that he or she is judged based on what his or partner does (e.g. "Other people judge me based in part on what my friend does"), (c) caring, the individual's concern about the other's welfare (e.g. "My friend's needs are about as important to me as my own"), (d) perspective-taking, a component of empathy that assesses the ability of the individual to see things from the other's perspective (e.g. "I can usually imagine exactly what my

¹ Subjects also completed individual differences measures of self-consciousness (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975), self-monitoring, (Snyder, 1974), and self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). These measures were included for exploratory purposes. No interpretable effects emerged on these measures. Thus, they will not be discussed further.

friend is thinking"), (e) emotion-sharing, a component of empathy that assesses the tendency for the individual to feel what the other is feeling (e.g. "When my friend feels sad, I feel sad too"), (f) supportiveness, the tendency to encourage and support the other in his or her various endeavors (e.g. "I try to emphasize my friend's good points and downplay my friend's bad points"), and (g) competitiveness, the tendency to compete with the friend in activities and tasks (e.g. "I can't stand it if my friend gets the better of me").

The RQQ is currently being refined as factor analyses with different samples are conducted. However, data from multiple samples, involving different relationships (e.g., romantic, best friend), have converged on a seven factor solution. In a recent study, 205 subjects completed the RQQ with regard to their romantic partner (or in regard to someone they would like to be their romantic partner). A seven factor structure emerged, representing the seven dimensions described above (Schlenker & Britt, 1994).

The RQQ subscales also correlate moderately with subscales from the Relationship Closeness Inventory (Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto, 1988). Schlenker and Britt (1994) found that the subscales correlated with the amount of influence the partner had on the subject (r 's ranging from .40 to .51 excluding the competitiveness subscale), the amount of activities individuals engaged with their partner

(r 's ranging from .20 to .27 excluding the competitiveness subscale), the amount of time individuals spent with their partner (r 's ranging from .17 to .25, excluding the competitiveness subscale), and how much individuals' future depended on their partner (r 's ranging from .42 to .52 excluding the competitiveness subscale). The subscales of the RQQ also correlated with the Inclusion of Other in Self Scale (Aron et al., 1992), which assesses how much the other has become incorporated into the individual's sense of self (r 's = .53 to .61 excluding the competitiveness dimension; Schlenker & Britt, 1994). These correlations provide support for the scale's convergent validity. One purpose of the present research was to provide evidence for the scale's predictive validity.

Procedure

Once the pair of friends arrived for the experiment, they were immediately separated into different rooms. Subjects were told they would participate in two studies, one involving the determinants of friendship, and the other involving the impact of personality on impression formation and social interaction (see Appendix B). Subjects were then given general instructions for the first study (see Appendix C), and the packet of questionnaires described earlier (see Appendix A).

On completing these questionnaires, subjects learned that the second study involved the impact of personality and

written information on impression formation and social interaction (see Appendix D). They learned that the impressions people form of others can have a major impact on how individuals interact with one another, and that in the present study we were especially interested in the role of written information on impression formation and interaction. Subjects were told there are many times when written information has a major impact on the impression that another forms of an individual, such as when a professor writes a student a letter of recommendation. The experimenter explained that we were also examining the role of personality in impression formation and interaction, because people with different personalities are likely to give off different impressions.

Subjects were told the second study involved four and sometimes eight different participants. Subjects were told that other pairs of friends had arrived at another part of the building and would also be participating. Subjects were told that this part of the study required two different types of participants: participants who would interact with one another and participants who would serve as researcher's assistants. Subjects were told that researcher's assistants were needed to provide written information for each participant in the interaction. Subjects were told that the participants in the interaction were not providing information about themselves because the wishes and goals of

those participants in the interaction could often influence the impressions that the participants were trying to create. They were told that in the present study, we were interested in the effects of written information on impression formation and interaction that is not influenced by the goals and wishes of those people who are actually engaging in the interaction. Subjects were told that the researcher's assistant was also needed because the experimenter could not be aware of what type of impression is being created. They were told that this is called "running blind" and is necessary because the experimenter's own knowledge and preconceptions can often influence the outcomes of the research. Subjects were told that if the researcher is not "blind", then he or she may unknowingly contaminate the results.

Subject's were told that researcher's assistants and participants in the social interaction would be paired with each other. Subjects were told that they were randomly assigned (by a flip of a coin) to either be a participant in an interaction or a researcher's assistant, as well as be randomly paired with another participant in the study. Subjects were told they would then receive additional instructions for their respective role.

Relationship manipulation. Subjects learned that they had been assigned to be a researcher's assistant and that they were paired with their friend or a stranger ("Brian

Davis" for male subjects, "Amy Davis" for female subjects), who was one of the participants engaging in a social interaction. In addition, they learned that their partner would be interacting with an opposite-sex stranger ("Kim Adams" for males, "David Adams" for females; see Appendix E). The bogus names were generated by selecting those first and last names appearing most frequently in class rosters of introductory psychology, and then pairing the first and last names with the restriction that none of the names were the same as anyone taking introductory psychology. Subjects then read additional instructions regarding their role as a researcher's assistant (see Appendix F). They were told that they would receive information regarding the personality of the person they had been paired with, and that they could choose to use or not use this information when completing an "Impression Questionnaire" to be given to the person who would be interacting with their partner. Subjects were also told that as researcher's assistants, their perceptions of the study were very important, and that they would later be asked to provide their perceptions of the study. Subjects were told that the experimenter would not see the Impression Questionnaire or their perceptions of the study until a later date.

Awareness of the feedback manipulation. The experimenter then returned with their partners' personality feedback. Subjects in all conditions were told that the

purpose of the feedback was to give them a feel for what their partner was like. Subjects in the aware condition were told that they were given a copy of the personality feedback and that the person their partner was interacting with would also receive a copy. The experimenter explained that the personality feedback would be given to the individual interacting with their partner to give the person a feel for what their partner was like. Subjects in the unaware condition were told that they alone would receive the personality feedback. In both conditions, the experimenter explained that he or she had no interest in the feedback and told the subject to read the personality feedback and place it aside when he or she was finished (cf. Baumeister & Jones, 1978).

Subjects were then provided with information about their partner's personality, supposedly calculated from their partner's responses to the Draw A Person Test completed at the beginning of the experiment (see Appendix G). Subjects in the friend conditions received their friend's Draw A Person test, with their friend's name at the top. Subjects in the stranger conditions received another subject's Draw A Person test, with the name Brian Davis or Amy Davis (for male and female subjects, respectively) printed at the top. The personality feedback was stapled to the DAP Test and was printed in "draft" form on a dot-matrix printer to enhance the believability that the partner's

responses to the questionnaires had just been scored. In addition, a tape recording of a dot matrix printer was played approximately 2 minutes before the personality feedback was given to subjects.

The feedback was designed so that subjects would believe that it was descriptive of either their friend or a stranger. Studies illustrating the "Barnum Effect" have shown that individuals have a tendency to accept bogus, high base-rate, personality feedback as reflective of their own personalities (Snyder, Shenkel, & Lowery, 1977). Past research on the Barnum Effect has also shown that subjects cannot differentiate above chance levels between bogus versus veridical feedback as accurate descriptors of their close friends (Sundberg, 1955). In addition, negative bogus feedback is more likely to be believed when it comes from a highly credible source (Halperin, Snyder, Shenkel, & Houston, 1976) and bogus feedback in general is more likely to be believed when it is based on more "projective" tests, such as the Rorschach test (Snyder et al., 1977).

To enhance the believability of the feedback for both friends and strangers, the feedback was delivered on high base-rate attributes (open-mindedness and trustworthiness; see Sedikides, 1993, and Anderson, 1968), and the feedback was supposedly based on the Draw a Person Test (Goodenough, 1926), a highly projective test that simply requires the individual to draw any person he or she desires. In order

to enhance the believability of the negative feedback in particular, the Draw a Person Test was described as highly valid, with extensive research supporting the validity of the test (see Appendix G). In addition, the Draw A Person Test itself had a cover sheet indicating that the test was developed at Yale University (see Appendix G).

Subjects then received the feedback along with instructions regarding the nature of the Draw a Person Test and information regarding it's validity and the two attributes measured by the scale (open-mindedness and trustworthiness). The feedback itself consisted of percentile scores indicating the partner's performance relative to other college students, as well as a narrative paragraph describing how the partner performed on the given attribute (see Appendix G). The attributes on which partner's receive positive and negative feedback were counterbalanced. Subjects found out that their partner scored high (at the 92th percentile) on the attribute of open-mindedness (trustworthiness) and scored low (at the 30th percentile) on the attribute of trustworthiness (open-mindedness). It should be noted that the trustworthiness dimension was reflective of reliability and dependability rather than unfaithfulness. Moore (1994) recently used the Draw a Person Test to deliver bogus personality feedback, and found that subjects viewed the feedback as credible.

The impression questionnaire. Subjects were told that the Impression Questionnaire they were to fill out about their partner would be given to the person interacting with their partner before the interaction. The impression questionnaire consisted of two parts (see Appendix H). Part A asked subjects to rate their partner on ten adjectives relevant to the trait on which the partner received negative feedback, ten adjectives relevant to the trait on which the partner received positive feedback, and ten adjectives that were irrelevant to the positive and negative feedback. For each set of ten adjectives, five were positive and five were negative. Part B of the Impression Questionnaire required subjects to respond to how much their partner agreed or disagreed with six statements relevant to the trait on which subjects received positive feedback, six statements relevant to the trait on which subjects received negative feedback, and six statements irrelevant to the personality feedback. For each set of six questions, three were positive and three were negative (see Appendix H).

After the experimenter took the impression questionnaire ostensibly to give to the subject's partner, the subjects completed a perceptions questionnaire assessing their attributions for their partner's performance and their perceived validity of the Draw a Person Test (see Appendix I). Subjects in the aware condition were told that the perception questionnaire would be given to the person

interacting with their partner, whereas subjects in the unaware condition were told perceptions questionnaire was completely anonymous.

Subjects then completed a final questionnaire (see Appendix J), which included filler items and (a) ratings of how important each of the traits was to their partner, and (b) manipulation checks asking how well their partner performed on the components of the DAP test. All subjects were told that their responses to this questionnaire were completely confidential. To assess the effectiveness of relationship manipulation, subjects were asked whether they were paired with a friend or stranger during the second part of the experiment. To assess the effectiveness of the awareness manipulation, subjects were asked whether the person interacting with their partner was or was not aware of their partners' personality feedback. If subjects said "aware", they received a score of 5. If subjects said "unaware", they received a score of 1. If subjects did not know the answer, the researcher asked them again, reframing the question. If subjects now said "aware" they received a 4, whereas if they said "unaware" they received a 2. If subjects still missed the question, they received a 3. Subjects were then be debriefed and dismissed.

Study 2

Subjects and Design

Subjects were 110 (55 males, 55 females) students who were either taking introductory psychology, or were the romantic partners of these students. Introductory psychology students were asked to bring "someone who they are currently dating" to the study with them. "Romantic partner" was defined broadly, so that we could insure variability in aspects of the relationships. Subjects taking introductory psychology participated for experimental credit. Romantic partners of the student who were not taking introductory psychology were able to compete for a prize of \$25.00 (to be given at the end of the semester) for participating.

The design of the study was a 2 (aware versus unaware of feedback) X 3 (positive, negative, or irrelevant Impression Questionnaire items) mixed-model factorial. The first independent variable was between-subjects, and the second was within-subjects. Subjects were randomly assigned to conditions.

Procedure

Subjects completed the same measures as in the first study and were taken through the same procedure. Subjects were always assigned to the role of researcher's helper and were always paired with their romantic partner for the study dealing with the impact of personality and written information on social interaction. In the second study

subjects learned that their partner would be interacting with a same-sex stranger ("Kim Adams" for males, "David Adams" for females). The rest of the procedure is identical to that of Study 1. For study 2, the effectiveness of the awareness manipulation was assessed simply by asking subjects whether the person interacting with their partner was aware or unaware of the feedback.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics for Relationship Variables

In order to gain some perspective on the strength of the same-sex friendships and romantic relationships in the present studies, the mean scores for the major relationship variables, for both studies 1 and 2, are presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Descriptive statistics for relationship variables for same sex friends and romantic partners

Measure	Same-Sex Friends (Study 1)	Romantic Partners (Study 2)
Length	2.85 years	2.34 years
Time per day	4.79 hours	8.37 hours
Private-Connectedness	4.31	6.10
Caring	6.71	8.43
Public-Connectedness	3.26	5.21
Emotion-Sharing	5.27	7.62
Perspective-Taking	5.75	6.80
Supportiveness	6.60	7.75
Competitiveness	2.80	3.48

Note. The RQQ subscales are measured on 1-9 scales, with higher numbers equaling greater values. All differences except length are significant at $p < .05$.

As can be seen in Table 1, romantic partners scored higher than same-sex friends on all variables except length of relationship. Interestingly, subjects in romantic relationships scored higher on the competitiveness subscale of the RQQ. Therefore, it appears that romantic

relationships were generally characterized by a greater degree of strength than were same-sex relationships.

Factor Analysis of Perception Questionnaire Items

Given the a priori interest in the perception questionnaire items assessing the perceived validity of each of the DAP subscales and how much the partner possessed each trait irrespective of the feedback, these items were analyzed separately. The remaining eight perception questionnaire items were subjected to a principal components factor analysis. Subjects from both studies were used for the factor analysis to obtain a representative and stable factor solution. On both the basis of an inspection of the scree plot as well as an "eigenvalue > 1" criterion, three factors were subjected to a varimax rotation. The results of the factor analysis are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Factor analysis of Perception Questionnaire Items

<u>Perception Item</u>	<u>Factor1</u>	<u>Factor2</u>	<u>Factor3</u>
Difficulty of scale	.17	<u>.81</u>	.01
Clarity of guidelines	.37	<u>-.62</u>	.15
How much control	<u>-.38</u>	<u>.50</u>	.37
How much cared	<u>.83</u>	.03	.17
How much effort	<u>.90</u>	.00	.14
Personal Responsibility	<u>.69</u>	-.24	-.13
External Responsibility	-.02	-.19	<u>.81</u>
Reliability of performance	.17	.15	<u>.69</u>

Note. Underlined factor loadings are > .40

The first factor reflects an internal dimension. Items loading on this factor included "How much do you think your partner cared about doing well on the part of the DAP

relevant to _____", "How much effort do you think your partner put into doing well on the _____ component of the DAP, "how personally responsible is your partner, based on your partner's ability and effort, for his or her performance on the _____ component of the DAP." The second factor dealt with aspects of the test, and included "How difficult is the _____ component of the DAP", "Do you think the guidelines for scoring the _____ component of the DAP are clear", and "How much control did your partner have over his or her performance on the _____ component of the DAP. The third factor dealt with external factors influencing the partner's performance, and contained the items "How responsible were factors outside your partner's ability and effort....for your partner's performance on the _____ component of the DAP", and "If your partner were to take a different version of the DAP test again, do you think he or she would do about the same, better, or worse on the _____ component of the DAP."¹

¹ It may be noted that factor 1 reflects an "internal factor", whereas factors 2 and 3 reflected an "external factor." However, a 2 factor solution did not produce internal and external factors, and resulted in a number of items loading on more than one factor. In addition, the validity item, when included in the factor analysis, loaded on the internal factor, rather than the test factor as might be expected. Given the a priori interest in the validity item, as well as the fact that effects on the validity item did not always parallel those for the internal factor, the validity item was analyzed separately.

The primary dependent measures for studies 1 and 2 were favorability of partner presentation on the impression questionnaire (with the presentations on Part A and Part B of the impression questionnaire combined), ratings of the validity of each DAP subscale (from now on referred to as test validity), ratings of how much of a given trait the partner possessed irrespective of his or her test performance (from now on referred to as trait possession), and ratings of how important the trait was to the partner. Trait importance was assessed on the Questionnaire Addendum, which was always completed anonymously. The scores on the internal, test, and external factors were analyzed, but were viewed as more subsidiary. For both studies 1 and 2, no effects of trait or sex qualified any of the main results. Therefore, the analyses were collapsed across trait and sex.

Study 1

Favorability of partner presentation was submitted to a 2 (relationship: friend or stranger) X 2 (awareness of feedback: aware or unaware) X 3 (feedback-relevance: positive, negative, or irrelevant Impression Questionnaire items) mixed-model analysis of variance. The scores on the test validity item, the trait possession item, the trait importance item, and the internal, external, and test factors were subjected to a 2 (relationship; friend or stranger) X 2 (awareness of ratings: aware or unaware) X 2 (feedback: positive or negative) mixed-model analysis of

variance. For study 1, six subjects either failed to follow instructions or reported that they "figured out" the procedure (e.g, that the feedback was bogus, that there were no other subjects). The data from these subjects were deleted prior to analysis. The results were comparable when the deleted subjects were included.

Manipulation Checks

The manipulations produced the desired effects. A main effect of feedback was obtained on the question assessing how well or poorly the partner performed on the subscale of the DAP, $F(1, 105) = 352.20, p < .01$. Subjects reported that their partner performed better on the trait relevant to the positive feedback ($M = 6.10$) than on the trait relevant to the negative feedback ($M = 2.43$). A main effect of awareness was obtained for the question assessing whether the person interacting with their partner was aware or unaware of the feedback, $F(1, 105) = 475.70, p < .01$. Subjects in the aware conditions said the audience was more aware of the feedback ($M = 4.67$) than did subjects in the unaware conditions ($M = 1.30$). No other main effects or interactions were obtained on these measures. All subjects correctly recalled whether they were paired with their friend or a stranger.

Favorability of Partner Presentation

An analysis of favorability of partner presentation revealed main effects of relationship, $F(1, 105) = 42.34, p$

$< .01$, and feedback-relevance, $F(2, 210) = 102.01$, $p < .01$. These main effects were qualified by a relationship X feedback-relevance interaction, $F(2, 210) = 17.52$, $p < .01$, and an awareness X feedback-relevance interaction, $F(2, 210) = 4.51$, $p < .05$. No other main effects or interactions were significant. The relationship X awareness X feedback-relevance interaction was not significant.

Although the three-way interaction was not significant, planned contrasts were conducted to examine the hypothesis that subjects will present their friend more favorably than a stranger on the positive and irrelevant traits when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance than when the audience was unaware. In support of the primary hypothesis, a significant effect of relationship on the mean favorability of presentation on the positive and irrelevant traits was significant when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, $F(1, 57) = 11.45$, $p < .01$, but not when the audience was unaware of the feedback, $F(1, 48) = 2.18$, ns. When the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, subjects presented a friend ($M = 5.46$) more favorably than a stranger ($M = 4.78$) on the positive and irrelevant traits. However, when the audience was unaware of the feedback, presentations of the friend ($M = 5.42$) and stranger ($M = 5.10$) did not differ. As will be seen shortly, friends presented strangers more favorably on

the trait relevant to the negative feedback under both aware and unaware conditions.

Even though the planned contrasts were significant, the fact that the three-way interaction was not significant warrants examination of the relationship X feedback-relevance and awareness X feedback-relevance interactions. The means for the relationship X feedback interaction are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Presentation of partner as a function of relationship and feedback-relevance

Relationship	Feedback-Relevance		
	Positive	Negative	Irrelevant
Friend	5.50a	4.66b	5.38a
Stranger	5.34a	3.27c	4.52d

Note. means with different subscripts differ significantly at $p < .01$, following significant simple effect tests. Higher scores indicate a more favorable presentation.

When the partner performed well on the trait, subjects presented both a friend and a stranger favorably on the trait, $F < 1$. However, subject's presented their friend more favorably than a stranger on the trait relevant to the negative performance, $F(1, 107) = 43.67$, $p < .01$, as well as the irrelevant traits, $F(1, 107) = 22.44$, $p < .01$. The differential presentation on the traits relevant to the negative feedback occurred even though the subjects interpreted the performance of the friend and stranger as equally poor under negative conditions (no effects of

relationship were obtained on the question asking how well their partner performed). This finding may indicate the tendency for subjects not to let a single piece of disconfirming information guide the presentation of a friend to the extent that it guides the presentation of a stranger. The more favorable presentation of friends in comparison to strangers on the traits irrelevant to the feedback is likely a function of subjects believing their friends possess desirable traits to a greater extent than strangers (Britt & Schlenker, 1994).

Viewing the interaction differently, simple effect tests also showed that the effect of feedback-relevance was significant for both friends, $F(2, 106) = 18.37, p < .01$, and strangers, $F(2, 108) = 99.28, p < .01$, but was much stronger for strangers, suggesting that subjects used the feedback to a lesser extent when presenting their friend than when presenting a stranger. Subjects presented both a friend and a stranger more favorably on the positive and irrelevant traits than on the negative trait. However, subjects presentations of their friend on the positive and irrelevant traits did not differ, whereas their presentation of a stranger were more favorable on the positive than on the irrelevant traits. This suggests that the positive feedback was in accordance with what was expected for the friend, whereas the positive performance likely exceeded the subject's expectations for a stranger.

The means for the awareness X feedback-relevance interaction are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Presentation of partner as a function of awareness and feedback-relevance

Awareness	Feedback-Relevance		
	Positive	Negative	Irrelevant
Unaware	5.58a	3.79b	4.94c
Aware	5.28a	4.11b	4.95c

Note. means with different subscripts differ significantly at $p < .05$ following significant simple effect tests.

In comparison to the unaware conditions, when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, subjects slightly decreased the favorability of their presentation for the positive traits, and slightly increased the favorability of the presentation for the negative traits. This pattern of presentation resulted in a weaker effect of feedback-relevance under aware conditions, $F(2, 98) = 35.83$, $p < .01$, than unaware conditions, $F(2, 98) = 68.97$, $p < .01$. The simple effects of awareness were not significant for either the positive, $F(1, 107) = 2.07$, ns, negative, $F(1, 107) = 2.30$, ns, or irrelevant, $F < 1$, traits. Interestingly, this interaction was not qualified by relationship, suggesting that subjects exhibited the effect to the same extent for friends and strangers. This interaction might simply reflect the tendency for subjects to become more cautious when an audience is aware of their partner's prior performance, thereby evidencing less of a

difference in favorability of presentation for the traits relevant to the positive and negative feedback.

Test Validity, Trait Possession, Trait Importance, and Factor Scores

Main effects of feedback were obtained for ratings of test validity, $F(1, 104) = 29.53$, $p < .01$, trait possession, $F(1, 105) = 45.95$, trait importance, $F(1, 105) = 67.31$, $p < .01$, the external factor, $F(1, 104) = 10.14$, $p < .01$, the internal factor, $F(1, 104) = 20.92$, $p < .01$, and the test factor, $F(1, 104) = 24.49$, $p < .01$. Main effects of relationship were obtained for test validity, $F(1, 104) = 4.27$, $p < .05$, trait possession, $F(1, 105) = 41.37$, $p < .01$, trait importance, $F(1, 105) = 24.21$, $p < .01$, and the internal factor, $F(1, 104) = 5.36$, $p < .05$. For ratings of test validity, the main effects of feedback and relationship were qualified by a feedback X relationship interaction, $F(1, 104) = 6.70$, $p < .05$. For ratings of trait importance, the main effects of feedback and relationship were qualified by a feedback X relationship interaction, $F(1, 104) = 9.13$, $p < .01$.

For the feedback main effects, subjects rated internal factors as more responsible for positive performance ($\bar{M}=4.40$) than negative performance ($\bar{M}=3.95$), rated external factors more responsible for negative performance ($\bar{M}=4.15$) than positive performance ($\bar{M}=3.94$), and rated their partner as possessing the trait relevant to the positive performance ($\bar{M}=5.50$) more than the trait relevant to the negative

performance ($\bar{M}=4.30$). For the relationship main effects, subjects rated their friend as possessing the traits relevant to the feedback more ($\bar{M}=5.40$) than a stranger ($\bar{M}=4.41$), and rated internal factors as more responsible for a friend's performance ($\bar{M}=4.42$) than a stranger's performance ($\bar{M}=3.94$). The effect of relationship on trait possession was expected, as subjects rated their friend as possessing more of the traits (irrespective of the feedback) than a stranger. The effects of relationship on the internal factor may reflect subjects' general tendency to claim that a friend was more personally involved in the test than a stranger.

The means for the relationship X feedback interaction on ratings of test validity are presented in Table 5.

Table 5
Ratings of test validity as a function of relationship and feedback

Relationship	Feedback	
	Positive	Negative
Friend	4.69a	3.35c
Stranger	3.76b	3.27c

Note. means with different subscripts differ significantly at $p < .05$ following significant simple effect tests.

Subjects rated the test relevant to the positive feedback as more valid for a friend than a stranger, $F(1, 106) = 7.64$, $p < .01$, but ratings of validity for the test relevant to the negative feedback did not differ as a function of relationship, $F < 1$. Viewing the interaction

differently, the simple effect of test feedback on ratings of test validity was much stronger for friends, $F(1, 53) = 32.88$, $p < .01$, than for strangers, $F(1, 53) = 4.29$, $p < .05$. That is, subjects evidenced more of a discrepancy in rating the validity of the positive and negative test for a friend than for a stranger, indicating a greater "other-serving" bias for the friend than stranger.

The means for the relationship X feedback interaction on ratings of trait importance are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Ratings of trait importance as a function of relationship and feedback

Relationship	Feedback	
	Positive	Negative
Friend	5.85a	4.94c
Stranger	5.56a	3.53b

Note. means with different subscripts differ significantly at $p < .05$ following significant simple effect tests.

Subjects rated the trait relevant to the negative feedback as being more important to a friend than to a stranger, $F(1, 107) = 33.99$, $p < .01$, but did not differentially rate the importance of the trait relevant to the positive feedback as a function of relationship, $F(1, 107) = 1.40$, ns. When the partner performed well on the test, subjects reported that the trait was just as important to a friend as a stranger. However, when the partner performed poorly, subjects did not let the failure influence the perception of how important the trait was to their

friend to the same degree as they let it influence how important the trait was to a stranger. Viewing the interaction differently, the effect of feedback on ratings of trait importance was stronger for a stranger, $F(1, 54) = 64.04$, $p < .01$, than a friend, $F(1, 53) = 12.49$, $p < .01$. As in the findings with the presentation of the partner on the impression questionnaire, this differential perception of importance was obtained despite no differences in perceptions of how well friends and strangers performed on the tests. This suggests that when subjects rate how important a desirable trait is to a friend, they are less likely to let a single violation of expected performance influence their ratings than when subjects rate how important a trait is to a stranger.

The results of Study 1 provide support for the hypothesis that friends would be presented more favorably than strangers on the positive and irrelevant traits when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance. The differential presentation of friends and strangers on the positive and irrelevant traits was not obtained when the audience was unaware of the partner's prior performance. The results also indicated that subjects were less likely to let negative feedback guide the presentation of a friend to an audience or the interpretation of a trait's importance in comparison to a stranger. Finally, the results also indicated a greater difference in validity ratings for the

positive and negative feedback for a friend than for a stranger, as well as greater ratings of trait possession for a friend than a stranger.

Study 2

The main purpose of study 2 was to examine how the presentation of a close other and the interpretation of events that happen to a close other is influenced by aspects of the subject's relationship with his or her partner. An overall analysis of the primary dependent measures, irrespective of relationship variables, was first conducted. For this stage of the analysis, favorability of partner presentation was submitted to a 2 (awareness of feedback: aware or unaware) X 3 (feedback-relevance: positive, negative, or irrelevant Impression Questionnaire items) mixed-model analysis of variance. The scores on the remaining dependent variables were subjected to a 2 (awareness of ratings: aware or unaware) X 2 (feedback: positive or negative) mixed-model analysis of variance.

For the second stage of analysis, simultaneous multiple regression was used to examine how the seven subscales of the RQQ (private connectedness, public connectedness, competitiveness, emotion-sharing, perspective taking, caring, and supportiveness) interacted with awareness and feedback to affect the primary dependent measures. Each RQQ subscale was standardized to control for potential multicollinearity (Aiken & West, 1993). Each relationship

dimension was entered into the mixed-model factorial for the given dependent measure. Because of the increased number of statistical tests this approach demands, the analyses were conducted only for the primary dependent measures of interest: favorability of partner presentation, test validity ratings, trait possession ratings, and trait importance ratings. Furthermore, no dependent measure was analyzed in the absence of an appropriate higher order interaction. Finally, when more than one RQQ subscale exhibited the same relationship with a dependent measure, an additional regression was conducted to examine whether the subscales accounted for unique variance in the given criterion measure.

For study 2, five subjects either did not follow instructions or reported that they "figured out" the procedure (e.g, that the feedback was bogus, that there were no other subjects). The data from these subjects was deleted prior to analysis. The results are comparable if these subjects are included.

Manipulation Checks

The manipulations produced the desired effects. A main effect of feedback was obtained on a question assessing how well or poorly the partner performed on the subscale of the DAP, $F(1, 103) = 296.55, p < .01$. Subjects reported that their partner performed better on the trait relevant to the positive feedback ($M = 6.30$) than on the trait relevant to

the negative feedback ($M = 2.41$). No other main effects or interactions were obtained on this measure. In order to test the effectiveness of the awareness manipulation subjects were asked whether the audience was aware or unaware of their partner's personality feedback. Ninety-three percent of the subjects correctly answered this question. All subjects correctly recalled that they were paired with their friend.

Overall Analysis (Not Including RQO Subscales)

Main effects of feedback were obtained for favorability of partner presentation, $F(2, 202) = 18.91$, $p < .01$, test validity, $F(1, 103) = 32.21$, $p < .01$, trait possession, $F(1, 103) = 31.28$, $p < .01$, trait importance, $F(1, 103) = 20.64$, $p < .01$, the external factor, $F(1, 103) = 3.64$, $p < .06$, and the internal factor, $F(1, 103) = 7.87$, $p < .01$. For the favorability of partner presentation, subjects presented their partner more favorably on the trait relevant to the positive feedback ($M = 5.54$) than on the trait relevant to the negative feedback ($M = 4.92$), $F(1, 104) = 30.18$, $p < .01$. Presentations were also significantly more favorable for the irrelevant traits ($M = 5.50$) than for the negative trait, $F(1, 103) = 26.41$, $p < .01$, whereas ratings for the positive and irrelevant traits did not differ, $F(1, 103) < 1$. Therefore, as in study 1, subjects in general presented their partner in line with the feedback they received about

their partner. No other main effects or interactions were obtained.

Table 7 presents means for the Perception Questionnaire items and factors as a function of feedback.

Table 7

Ratings of Perception Questionnaire items and factors as a function of feedback

<u>Dependent Measure</u>	<u>Feedback</u>	
	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Test validity	4.82	3.60
Trait possession	6.05	4.94
Trait importance	5.96	5.06
External factor	4.03	4.19
Internal factor	4.43	4.15

Subjects viewed the test relevant to the positive trait as more valid than the test relevant to the negative trait and reported external and test factors as being more responsible for negative performance than positive performance. Subjects attributed greater responsibility to internal factors for positive performance relative to negative performance. Subjects reported that the trait relevant to the positive feedback was more important to their partner than the trait relevant to the negative feedback. The main effect of feedback on trait possession suggests that even though subjects were instructed to rate their partner on the trait irrespective of the feedback, the feedback still influenced the ratings of their partner. No other main effects or interactions were obtained.

These findings indicate a rather pervasive other-serving bias among romantic partners, as factors residing within the partner were cited for positive performance, whereas external factors were invoked to account for negative performance.

Multiple Regression with RQQ subscales

It should be noted that none of the RQQ subscales interacted with feedback for the question assessing how well the partner performed on the traits relevant to the positive and negative feedback. Therefore, the interactions of the RQQ subscales reported below are not a function of differential perceptions of how well the partner performed.

Favorability of partner presentation. One of the primary predictions of the present research was that subjects in close relationships, in comparison to subjects in nonclose relationships, would bolster the presentation of their partner on the positive and irrelevant traits when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance. In support of this hypothesis, private connectedness predicted significant variability in favorability of partner presentation in the form of a main effect, $F(1, 100) = 6.16$, $p < .02$, and a private connectedness X awareness X feedback interaction, $F(2, 100) = 3.17$, $p < .05$. The three-way interaction is depicted in Figure 1. As can be seen in Figure 1, when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, subjects who were high in private connectedness

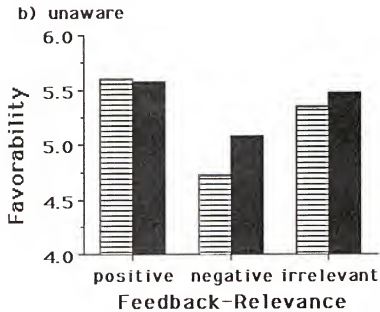
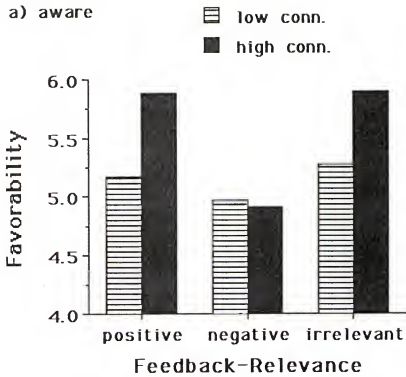


Figure 1
Favorability of presentation as a function of private
connectedness, awareness, and feedback-relevance

a) audience aware

b) audience unaware

presented their partner more favorably on the positive and irrelevant traits than did subjects low in private connectedness². However, when the audience was not aware of the prior performance, no differences in degree of private connectedness interaction emerged. The private connectedness X feedback was significant when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, $F(2, 100) = 3.60$, $p < .05$, but not under unaware conditions, $F < 1$. The private connectedness X awareness interaction was significant for ratings on the positive trait, $F(1, 100) = 4.77$, $p < .05$, and approached significance for ratings on the irrelevant traits, $F(1, 100) = 3.18$, $p < .08$. The private connectedness X awareness interaction was not significant for the negative trait, $F(1, 100) < 1$. When the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, effects of private connectedness were obtained for presentation on the positive trait, $F(1, 50) = 8.66$, $p < .01$, and irrelevant traits, $F(1, 50) = 11.44$, $p < .01$. However, the effect of private connectedness was not significant for either the positive or irrelevant traits when the audience was not aware of the partner's prior performance, F 's < 1 .

² For each level of the categorical variables, values for the private connectedness variable were calculated by computing estimate scores for points ± 1 SD from the mean private connectedness score. This same procedure was used for all interactions involving the relationship measures.

The hypothesis of increased favorability of partner presentation for close others when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance was also supported by results for emotion-sharing. A main effect of emotion-sharing, $F(1, 100) = 7.44$, $p < .01$, and an emotion-sharing X awareness interaction, $F(1, 100) = 5.09$, $p < .05$, were obtained on the favorability of partner presentation. This interaction is depicted in Figure 2. When the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, those subjects high in emotion-sharing presented their partner more favorably than subjects low in emotion-sharing. However, when the audience was unaware of the partner's prior performance, those subjects high and low in emotion sharing did not differ in the presentation of their partner. The simple effect of emotion-sharing was significant when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, $F(1, 50) = 14.44$, $p < .01$, but not when the audience was unaware of the partner's prior performance, $F < 1$. The fact that this interaction was not qualified by feedback suggests that subjects high in emotion-sharing presented their partner more favorably on the positive, irrelevant, and negative traits when the audience was aware of the partners prior performance.

The results for private connectedness and emotion-sharing support the hypothesis that close others will be especially likely to present their partner favorably when an

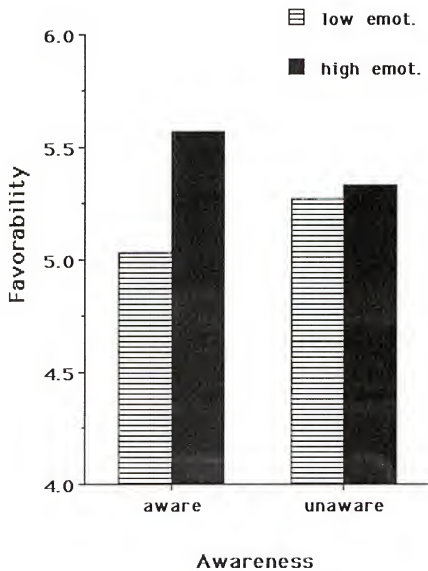


Figure 2
Favorability of presentation as a function of emotion-sharing and awareness

audience is aware of prior negative performance. Interestingly, the results also suggest that when the audience is not aware of the prior performance, and therefore there is no acute social need, close others present their partner no more favorably than nonclose others.

Recall in Study 1 that subjects presented friends more favorably than strangers on the negative and irrelevant traits, but not on the positive traits. The explanation offered for this result was that individuals are less likely to let a single piece of negative information influence the presentation of a close other. Therefore, romantic partners who are not close might be especially prone to letting negative information guide the presentation of their partner. Some support for this explanation is obtained in the present study by a main effect of competitiveness, $F(1, 101) = 4.53$, $p < .05$, and a competitiveness \times feedback interaction, $F(2, 202) = 4.18$, $p < .05$, on the favorability of partner presentation. This interaction is depicted in Figure 3. Subjects high in competitiveness presented their partner lower on the trait relevant to the negative feedback than did subjects low in competitiveness, but there were no differences in presentation on the positive and irrelevant traits as a function of competitiveness. The simple effect of competitiveness was significant for presentation on the trait relevant to the negative feedback, $F(1, 101) = 8.41$,

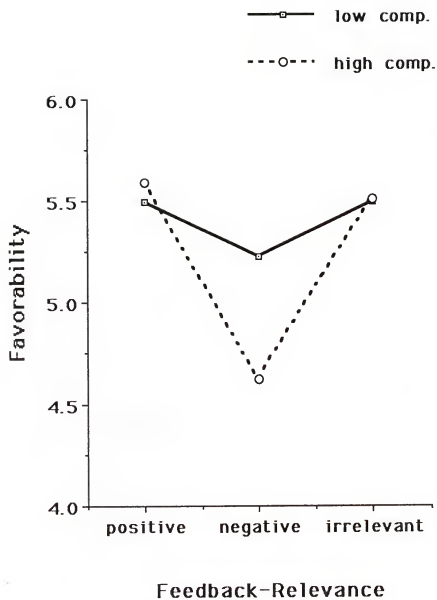


Figure 3
Favorability of presentation as a function of
competitiveness and feedback-relevance

$p < .01$, but not for the trait relevant to the positive feedback, $F(1, 101) < 1$, or irrelevant traits, $F(1, 101) < 1$.

Viewing the interaction differently, subjects high in competitiveness appeared to present their partner in line with the feedback they received about their partner. However, subjects low in competitiveness were less likely to lower their presentation of their partner on the basis of the negative feedback. This suggests that subjects who compete with their partner are more likely to let negative experiences influence how they present their partner to others.

Other effects of the RQQ subscales on favorability of partner presentation included main effects of caring, $F(1, 100) = 8.73$, $p < .01$, and supportiveness, $F(1, 100) = 10.04$, $p < .01$. Across all traits and conditions of awareness, those higher in caring and supportiveness presented their partner more favorably than those low in caring and supportiveness. When both variables were entered into the regression simultaneously, supportiveness was the only significant predictor, $F(1, 100) = 4.05$, $p < .05$. Therefore, the variance in favorability of partner presentation accounted for by caring is a function of the relationship between caring and supportiveness. However, supportiveness predicted significant variance in

favorability of partner presentation after controlling for caring.

Test validity. In Study 1 subjects evidenced less of a difference in ratings of test validity for the positive and negative feedback for a stranger than for a friend. This difference was hypothesized to be a function of an "other-serving bias", where close others are afforded a greater discrepancy in ratings of the validity of positive and negative feedback than nonclose others. Therefore, romantic partners who are not close might be especially likely to evidence a smaller discrepancy in the ratings of test validity for the positive and negative feedback. Some support for this hypothesis was obtained through a competitiveness X feedback interaction, $F(1, 101) = 10.98$, $p < .01$, and a public connectedness X feedback interaction, $F(1, 100) = 4.67$, $p < .05$, on ratings of test validity. When both interactions were entered simultaneously, only the competitiveness X feedback interaction emerged as significant, $F(1, 100) = 7.44$, $p < .01$. Therefore, only the competitiveness X feedback interaction will be interpreted, and this interaction is presented in Figure 4.

Subjects high in competitiveness rated the test relevant to the negative feedback as more valid than subjects low in competitiveness, $F(1, 103) = 7.98$, $p < .01$, whereas subjects high and low in competitiveness did not differ in ratings of the test relevant to the positive

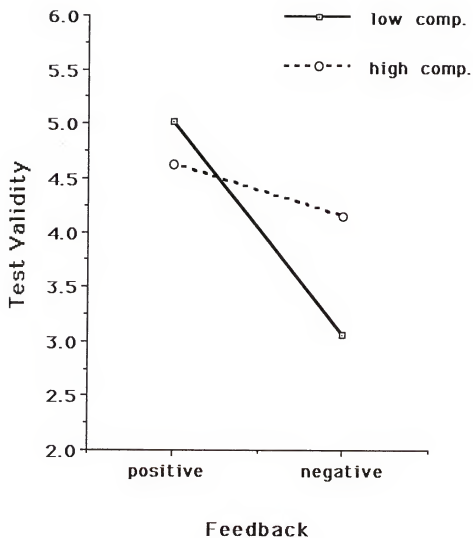


Figure 4
Ratings of test validity as a function of competitiveness and feedback

feedback, $F < 1$. This finding suggests that individuals who compete with their partner are more likely to accept the validity of a test on which their partner performs poorly than are individuals who do not compete with their partner. Viewing the interaction differently, subjects high in competitiveness evidenced little difference in ratings of the validity of the test relevant to the positive versus negative feedback, whereas those low in competitiveness rated the test relevant to the positive feedback as much more valid than the test relevant to the negative feedback. This suggests an "even-handedness" in interpretation of test validity for the positive and negative feedback for subjects who reported competing with their partner.

Trait possession. In support of the hypothesis that individuals in a closer relationship would be more likely to help the partner when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, a private connectedness X awareness of ratings interaction was obtained for ratings of trait possession, $F(1, 100) = 3.90$, $p = .05$. This interaction is depicted in Figure 5. When the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, and would be given the subject's ratings, those who felt connected to their partner rated their partner as possessing the desirable traits to a greater degree than when the audience was not aware of their partner's prior performance, and would not

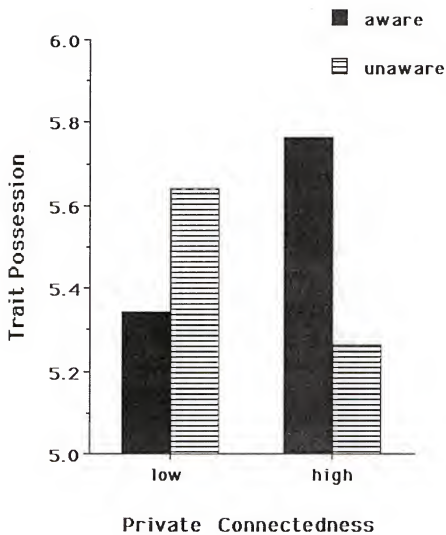


Figure 5

Ratings of trait possession as a function of private connectedness and awareness

receive their ratings. There was also a tendency for those low in connectedness to do the opposite, that is, to rate their partner as possessing the desirable traits to a lesser degree when the audience would be aware of their ratings than when the audience would not receive their ratings.

An analysis of trait possession also revealed some support for the idea that individuals in nonclose relationships would be less likely to rate their partner in a favorable manner when the audience was aware of their partner's prior performance. A main effect of competitiveness, $F(1, 101) = 6.85, p < .05$, a competitiveness X feedback X awareness interaction, $F(1, 101) = 4.16, p < .05$, and a public-connectedness X feedback X awareness interaction, $F(1, 100) = 4.22, p < .05$, were obtained on trait possession. When both three-way interactions were entered simultaneously into the regression, neither the three-way interaction involving competitiveness, $F(1, 99) = 2.21, ns$, nor public connectedness, $F(1, 99) = 2.07, ns$, was significant. This suggests that both competitiveness and public-connectedness account for the same variability in ratings of trait possession. Given that the same general pattern was obtained for both variables, only the competitiveness X feedback X awareness interaction will be discussed, and this interaction is depicted in Figure 6.

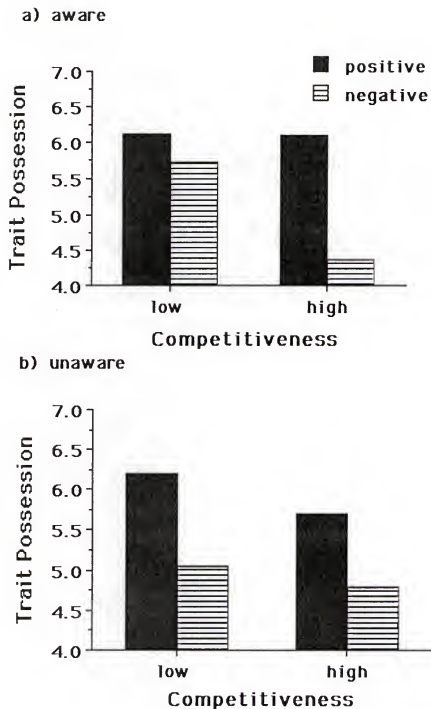


Figure 6
Ratings of trait possession as a function of
competitiveness, awareness, and feedback
a) audience aware
b) audience unaware

When the audience was aware of their partners' prior performance, and would receive the subjects' ratings, those high in competitiveness rated their partner as possessing the trait relevant to the negative feedback to a lesser degree than subjects low in competitiveness. However, when the audience was unaware of the prior performance, and would not see the ratings, subjects high and low in competitiveness did not differ in their ratings of how much their partner possessed the negative trait. The interaction of feedback X competitiveness was significant when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, $F(1, 51) = 6.44$, $p < .05$, but not when the audience was unaware of the partner's prior performance, $F < 1$. An effect of competitiveness was obtained for ratings of negative trait possession, $F(1, 51) = 9.76$, $p < .01$, but not for positive trait possession, $F < 1$.

Viewing the interaction differently, those low in competitiveness evidenced less of a difference in ratings of the extent to which their partner possessed the positive and negative traits (rating the partner high on both traits) when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, and would be given the subject's ratings, than did those subjects high in competitiveness. However, subjects evidenced a comparable discrepancy in their ratings of how much the partner possessed the traits relevant to the

positive and negative feedback when the audience was unaware of the feedback and would not be given the feedback.

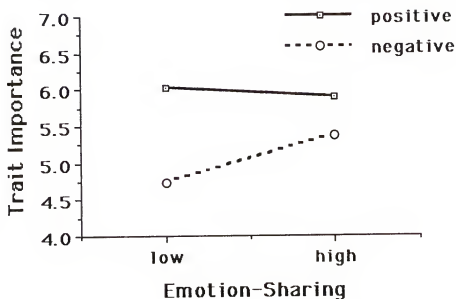
These findings indicate that subjects high in competitiveness and high in public connectedness are especially likely to say their partner did not possess the trait relevant to the negative feedback when the audience was aware of the prior performance. The results also suggest that those subjects low in competitiveness and public-connectedness were especially likely to ignore the feedback and say their partner possessed the traits relevant to the positive and negative feedback when the audience was aware of the prior performance.

The only other effect involving an RQQ subscale for trait possession was a main effect of caring, $F(1, 100) = 4.80, p < .05$. For traits relevant to both the positive and negative feedback, those subjects high in caring rated their partner as possessing more of the trait than subjects low in caring.

Trait importance. Recall in study 1 that subjects rated the trait relevant to the negative feedback as more important for a friend than a stranger. The explanation given for this finding was that subjects are less likely to let a single piece of negative information influence their view of how important a desirable trait is to a close-other than a nonclose other. Romantic partners who are not close to one another, in comparison to partners in a closer relationship,

might be especially likely to let negative information guide their perception of how important a desirable trait is to their partner. This hypothesis receives some support in the present study through a competitiveness X feedback interaction, $F(1, 103) = 4.83, p < .05$, and an emotion-sharing X feedback interaction, $F(1, 102) = 3.37, p < .07$, on ratings of trait importance. When both interactions were entered into the regression simultaneously, the competitiveness X feedback interaction remained significant, $F(1, 101) = 3.94, p < .05$, whereas the emotion-sharing X feedback interaction dropped to non-significance, $F(1, 101) = 2.54, p < .12$. However, both interactions are presented in Figure 7 to illustrate the differences between competitiveness and emotion-sharing on ratings of trait importance. As seen in Figure 7, there were no differences as a function of competitiveness or emotion-sharing for ratings of the importance of the trait relevant to the positive feedback. However, those who were high in competitiveness rated the trait relevant to the negative feedback as less important to the partner than those low in competitiveness, whereas those high in emotion-sharing rated the trait more important to the partner than those low in emotion-sharing. The simple effects of competitiveness, $F(1, 103) = 9.44, p < .01$, and emotion-sharing, $F(1, 103) = 3.95, p < .05$, were significant for ratings of the trait

b) emotion-sharing X feedback interaction



a) competitiveness X feedback interaction

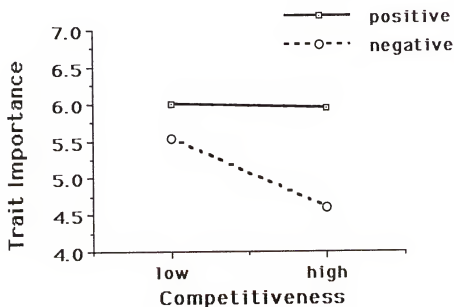


Figure 7

Ratings of trait importance as a function of competitiveness and feedback, and emotion-sharing and feedback

a) competitiveness X feedback interaction

b) emotion-sharing X feedback interaction

relevant to the negative feedback, but were not significant for traits relevant to the positive feedback ($F's < 1$).

Subjects who were high in competitiveness, and low in emotion-sharing, were most likely to decrease the rating of a desirable trait's importance to their partner following negative feedback. This suggests that those individuals who are competitive with their partner and report not being able to experience the emotions their partner is experiencing are more likely to let episodic feedback overly influence their perceptions of how important a given attribute is to their partner.

Taken as a whole, the results for the competitiveness dimension paint an intriguing picture of how people high and low in competitiveness dealt with negative feedback about their partner. Those high in competitiveness were more likely to accept the validity of the test, say the trait was not important to their partner, and actually present their partner unfavorably on the trait. However, those low in competitiveness were more likely to denigrate the validity of the test, say the trait was indeed important to their partner, and then actually present their partner more favorably on the trait.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

The discussion of the present research will be divided into the following sections: (a) a discussion of the results of the two studies relevant to the strategic presentation and ratings of close versus nonclose others based on audience awareness of feedback, (b) a discussion of the results relevant to the differential perception of feedback and presentation of close and nonclose others not influenced by audience awareness, (c) the implications of the results for the areas of identity regulation, close relationships, symbolic interactionism, and Tesser's (1988) self-evaluation maintenance model, (d) limitations of the present research, and (e) conclusions.

Strategic Presentation and Ratings of Close and Nonclose Others

"Strategic presentation" is defined in the present research as altering the presentation or ratings of the partner based on the audience's awareness of the partner's feedback. Results from Studies 1 and 2 indicated that individuals were more likely to present close others more favorably than nonclose others when an audience was aware of the partner's prior feedback than when the audience was unaware of the prior feedback. This was true when the

"close" versus "nonclose" dimension was defined as a friend versus stranger in Study 1 and when the dimension was defined as being high or low on certain relationship qualities in Study 2. The planned contrast in Study 1 showed that friends were presented more favorably than strangers on traits relevant to the positive feedback and irrelevant traits when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, but not when the audience was unaware of the partner's prior performance. In Study 2, subjects high in private connectedness presented their romantic partner more favorably than subjects low in private connectedness on traits relevant to the positive feedback and irrelevant traits when the audience was aware of the partner's prior performance, but not when the audience was unaware of the partner's prior performance. In addition, subjects high in emotion-sharing presented their partner more favorably on all traits than subjects low in emotion-sharing when the audience was aware of the feedback, but not when the audience was unaware.

It is worth noting that presentation on the trait relevant to the negative feedback was not affected by awareness in Study 1, or by awareness for the connectedness effect in Study 2. In the first study, subjects always presented same-sex friends more favorably than strangers on the trait relevant to negative feedback, and did not alter their presentation based on the audience's awareness. In

Study 2, only emotion-sharing appeared to moderate presentation of romantic partner on the negative trait, with those high in emotion-sharing being more likely to present their partner more favorably on the negative trait those low in emotion-sharing when the audience was aware of the feedback. One reason for the lack of awareness effects on presentation on the negative trait may have been that the negative feedback was so discrepant from subjects' expectations about their close other that subjects came to aid of their partner through enhanced favorability of presentation on the trait even if the audience was not aware of the prior performance. However, there may have been more latitude for awareness to influence presentations on the positive and irrelevant traits, where the feedback was not so expectancy-discrepant.

Further evidence for strategic presentation of close versus nonclose others was found on ratings of trait possession in Study 2. Subjects high in private connectedness rated their partner as possessing the traits relevant to the feedback to a greater degree when the audience was aware of the prior feedback, and would receive the subject's ratings, than when the audience was unaware of the prior performance. In contrast, subjects low in private connectedness rated their partner as possessing the traits to a slightly lesser degree when the audience was aware of the feedback than when the audience was unaware. In

addition, subjects low in competitiveness and public-connectedness were more likely to rate the partner as possessing the traits relevant to both the positive and negative feedback when the audience was aware of the feedback and ratings, whereas subjects high in competitiveness and public-connectedness evidenced a sharp difference in their ratings of the extent to which the partner possessed the positive and negative traits (with lower ratings for the negative trait) when the audience was aware of the feedback and ratings.

These results suggest that the social context can have a major influence on how individuals in close relationships present and evaluate one another. The results indicate that close others were presented more favorably than nonclose others especially when the partner was in acute social need. Differences in how subjects viewed their relationship partner emerged only when the audience was aware of the partner's prior negative and positive performance, with those subjects in close relationships being more likely than those in nonclose relationships to come to the aid of their partner through strategic presentation of information designed to portray their partner in a desirable light. When the audience was not aware of the partner's prior performance, and was therefore not under an acute social need, those subjects in close versus nonclose relationships

were less likely to differ in the presentation or ratings of their partner.

At this point it is necessary to address what distinguished the relationship variables in Study 2 that predicted strategic presentation of the partner based on audience awareness of feedback. Why were the dimensions of private connectedness and emotion-sharing related to the strategic presentation of romantic partners based on audience awareness of prior feedback, whereas other dimensions were not? Interestingly, the private connectedness and emotion-sharing dimensions of the RQQ shared the highest correlation among all the subscales ($r = .64$; within the romantic partner sample). The common factor underlying these dimensions appears to be the connection of the self to other in terms of viewing the other as an extension of self and in terms of similarity in experiencing the emotions that the other experiences. Aron et al. (1992) found that their measure assessing the "inclusion of other in self" was related to both cognitive and emotional components of individuals' relationship with their partner. Being highly connected to a romantic partner, and being capable of feeling what a partner is feeling, should facilitate a more thorough investigation of the social context, including an analysis of the nuances inherent in the presentational dilemma faced by the partner (Schlenker, Britt, & Pennington, in press). Given that perspective-

taking was basically inoperative in the present research, the results suggest a more affective or motivational connection between self and other as a moderator of strategic other presentation.

Interestingly, the relationship dimensions of supportiveness and caring influenced partner presentation on the impression questionnaire irrespective of the feedback-relevance of the traits or audience awareness of feedback. Subjects high in supportiveness and caring (where caring's prediction was accounted for by supportiveness) presented their partner more favorably than those low on the dimensions on all traits and when the audience was both aware and not aware of the feedback. These results suggest that individuals who score high in supportiveness and caring are likely to present their partner favorably irrespective of the subtleties of the social context.

Another question regarding the strategic ratings of the partner is why the competitiveness and public connectedness dimensions revealed the same relationship on ratings of trait possession, and why public connectedness did not predict strategic presentation on the impression questionnaire. Regarding the first question, the similarity in results for competitiveness and public connectedness may be due to the correlation between the two relationship dimensions ($r=.30$) obtained for the romantic partner sample. This correlation suggests that greater competitiveness is

associated with the belief that individuals are evaluated based on the performance of their partner. One highly suggestive explanation for this correlation is that individuals who feel they will be evaluated based on their partner resent such evaluation, and therefore are likely to compete with their partner. Alternatively, concerns about how the individual appears to others in relation to his or her close other may generate inappropriate competition. The irony is that the competition might preclude the partner from performing well and the subject benefiting from the connection with the partner. Further research is necessary to explore the reasons for this unexpected but intriguing relationship.

The pattern of results for public connectedness certainly suggests that it was not the public connection between the subject and partner that predicted strategic impression regulation in the present research. That is, public connectedness did not influence the presentation of the partner on the impression questionnaire. However, it is important to note that given the dynamics of the experiment, public-connectedness should perhaps not have been expected to moderate the results. In the present research the presentations of the partner were supposedly anonymous, with the researcher not being aware of who completed the impression questionnaire. Therefore, the subject was in no way connected with the partner in the eyes of an external

audience. Given this lack of social connection, it is not surprising that private connectedness, and not public connectedness, moderated the presentation of the partner. Public connectedness would perhaps be more likely to influence the strategic presentation of a partner when partners are explicitly linked to subjects, and the outcomes subjects receive depend on their partners' performance.

Differential Presentation and Interpretation of Feedback for Close and Nonclose Others

The present section discusses those results that were not influenced by audience awareness of the partner's prior feedback. These results, although not "strategic" in terms of being affected by audience awareness, provide insights into how individuals respond to evaluative information about close and nonclose others and how they use that information to present others to audiences.

The results from Study 1 indicated that even though subjects did not differ in their perceptions of how well or poorly a friend or stranger performed, subjects presented friends more favorably than strangers on the trait relevant to the negative feedback. It was also apparent that the feedback manipulation influenced the presentation of a stranger more than the presentation of a friend, suggesting that subjects were less likely to let evaluative feedback influence the presentation of a friend than a stranger. The results of Study 1 also showed that subjects evidenced a greater discrepancy in the validity ratings of

positive and negative feedback for friends than strangers, suggesting a more adaptive attributional strategy in accounting for the positive and negative performance. Finally, the results of Study 1 indicated that subjects were less likely to let negative feedback influence their perception of how important a desirable trait was to their friend than to a stranger. This latter finding is interesting in the context of research indicating that subjects will derogate the importance of a trait on which they themselves receive negative feedback. This finding is discussed in more detail shortly.

The results of Study 2 lend some credence to the interpretations offered for the results of Study 1. In particular, the competitiveness dimension of the RQQ influenced not only presentation of the romantic partner, but also ratings of test validity and trait importance. In understanding the effects of competitiveness on these measures, it is helpful to ask the question of how subjects low and high in competitiveness dealt with the negative feedback they received about their partner. Subjects high in competitiveness rated the test relevant to the negative feedback as more valid, said the trait was unimportant to the partner, and actually presented their partner more unfavorably on the trait. In sharp contrast, subjects low in competitiveness denigrated the validity of the test relevant to the negative feedback, said the trait was indeed

important to the partner, and presented their partner more favorably on the dimension relevant to the feedback. As discussed in greater detail shortly, these results have implications not only for the relationships of individuals high and low in competitiveness, but also for the self-concept and identity of each of the participants in the relationship.

Implications of the Results

Identity Regulation

The present section will address the relevance of the results to prior research examining how individuals regulate information about themselves. As such, the present research provides further evidence for the utility of examining not only how people process and regulate information about themselves, but also how they process and regulate information about close others. In discussing the implications of the present research for identity regulation, it will become apparent that there are both similarities and differences in how individuals manage the identities of themselves versus others.

Prior research has shown that individuals present themselves differently depending on whether or not an audience is aware of their past positive or negative performance (Baumeister & Jones, 1978; Schlenker, 1975). The results of the present study indicate that this form of strategic self-presentation extends to close others, as

individuals presented close others differently than nonclose others when an audience was aware of the prior performance of their partner. Individuals in the present research were also less likely to let evaluative feedback influence the presentation of a close versus nonclose other, irrespective of whether the audience was aware of the feedback.

The present results indicate that there are similarities and differences in how individuals present themselves versus close others to an audience based on audience awareness of feedback. Subjects have been found to increase their favorability of presentation for traits irrelevant to past negative feedback when the audience is aware of the feedback (Baumeister & Jones, 1978), an effect found in the present study when the past negative performance of a close other was known to an external audience. However, when individuals present themselves to an audience who is aware of the individual's past positive performance, the individual tends to be modest in his or her presentation (Schneider, 1969). In the present research individuals presented close others more favorably than nonclose others on traits relevant to the positive performance when the audience was aware of the performance than when the audience was not aware. Because the partner was not presenting him or herself to the audience, the individual was free to boast about the close other's accomplishments. This boasting was especially

likely when the audience was aware of prior negative feedback about the partner.

Another research area relevant to the present results is the self-serving bias, where individuals have been found to denigrate the validity of a test on which they receive negative feedback (Arkin & Maruyama, 1979; Schlenker et al., 1990). In the present research subjects evidenced a greater discrepancy in ratings of test validity for positive and negative feedback for close others than for nonclose others, thereby showing that this bias is not only "self-serving," but "other-serving" as well. Furthermore, the finding that this bias was virtually absent among individuals who reported competing with their partner suggests that not all individuals in close relationships will be afforded the adaptive attributional benefits of this "other-serving" bias.

Some of the more counter-intuitive findings in the present research involved ratings of trait importance. Past research has shown that when individuals receive negative feedback about a given attribute, they deemphasize the importance of that attribute to their self-concept (Tesser & Paulhus, 1983). This is presumably a self-protective strategy that shields the individual from the negative implications associated with performing poorly on an important trait. If the trait is unimportant, then the negative performance is less damaging.

In the present research subjects were less likely to lower their ratings of a trait's importance to a close other than to a nonclose other following negative feedback. In order to interpret these findings, it is necessary to more closely examine the implications of decreasing ratings of a trait's importance following the receipt of negative feedback. If the trait is a desirable one to possess, as was the case in the present research, then it is to a certain extent maladaptive to lower markedly the importance of the trait to one's self-concept following negative feedback. Although such a strategy would perhaps provide temporary comfort in the face of negative feedback, internalizing the desirable trait as unimportant might be more detrimental in the long run. Within the context of this explanation, individuals in the present research were less likely to allow negative feedback to influence their perception of how important a desirable trait was to a close other. Instead, close others said that the test was not valid, thereby preserving their view of their partner as valuing desirable traits. This explanation not only has implications for how close others process information about one another, but is also consonant with the viewpoint that not all forms of self-serving biases ultimately promote mental health (Colvin & Block, in press).

Finally, the present results parallel findings in research on identity regulation indicating that the

regulation of information occurs not only in public settings, but in private settings as well (Greenwald & Breckler, 1985; Schlenker, 1980, 1986). That is, identity regulation of close others in the present research took place not only through the presentation of the partner to an audience (either qualified or not qualified by the audience's awareness of past feedback), but also through the interpretation of information about the close other. How individuals interpret information about their partner will ultimately influence how they respond to their partner and account for their partner's performance, thereby influencing the impact the information has on their partners' identity (Shrauger & Schoneman, 1979).

Close Relationships

The present results contribute to a growing body of research examining behavior and information processing in close relationships (Bradbury & Fincham, 1990; Fletcher & Fincham, 1991; Gottman, 1979). This research has shown that how people in close relationships interact and attribute the causes for positive and negative events has an impact on the satisfaction and duration of the relationship.

However, I uncovered no research that has examined how people in close relationships process evaluative feedback about one another or present each other to audiences. There are many times in everyday life when close others receive either direct or indirect feedback about one another (e.g.

job evaluations, placement tests, indirect interpersonal feedback). This occurs in all relationships, including parent-child, same-sex friendships, and romantic partners. The individual might directly receive the feedback from his or her close other, or hear about the feedback from someone else (a mutual acquaintance). How the individual interprets the feedback is likely to have an impact on the identity of the partner. For example, attributing negative feedback to external factors is likely to help the partner maintain a desired identity (Britt & Schlenker, 1993).

Importantly, interpreting evaluative feedback about a close other involves more than simply assigning causality for the feedback. In discussing the ways people respond to feedback about themselves, Shrauger (1975) noted that individuals not only assess the validity of the feedback and assign causality for feedback, but also use the feedback to potentially change their self-evaluations and to determine their level of motivation for subsequent performance relevant to the feedback. I would also like to add that individuals must decide how to use the feedback to present themselves to others. Even if an audience is not aware of past negative feedback, individuals might modify their self-presentations if they believe the feedback is representative of self (Schlenker, Dlugolecki, & Doherty, 1994).

The present results address more completely than past research how close others respond to evaluative feedback

about their partner. In addition to the differential assignment of test validity, close others were less likely to let negative feedback influence their perception of how important a desirable attribute was to their partner. If this perception is communicated to the partner, then the partner is also less likely to let the poor feedback influence his or her identity. Close others were also less likely to let the negative feedback influence the presentation of their partner to the audience. Once individuals present their partner to an external audience, the partner not only has to deal with the implications of the information for his or her private identity, but also has to consider the public constraints on the impressions that he or she can defensibly create (Goffman, 1959). That is, if individuals are presented poorly on a certain dimension by their partners, they will be constrained in their ability to claim identities that are favorable on the dimension.

The present research indicates the utility of a multifaceted approach towards examining how individuals view their relationship partners. The Relationship Quality Questionnaire assesses a number of relationship dimensions, and the results of the present research indicated that different relationship dimensions produced different results. The dimensions examined in the present research fill a gap in the close relationship literature by

addressing the determinants of how individuals in close relationships manage the identities of each other in both private and public contexts.

Research by Bradbury and Fincham (1990) has shown that attributions for positive and negative events are related to relationship satisfaction, but these authors have only examined attributions for events directly involving the person making the attributions. For example, every event on the Relationship Attribution Measure offered by Fincham and Bradbury (1992) to measure attributions in marriage involves explicit reference to the partner (e.g. "Your husband criticizes something you say," "Your husband begins to spend less time with you"). Although attributions for self-relevant partner behavior are important for understanding close relationships, attributions for events that do not involve the self are also necessary to understand more completely the process by which individuals in close relationships influence each other's identity (Britt & Schlenker, 1993, 1994). Research is also needed addressing how the attributions individuals make affect the identities of the individuals involved in the relationship.

Symbolic Interactionism

The key tenet of symbolic interactionist thought is that our self-views ultimately develop through our interpretations of how others view us (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Shrauger & Schoeneman, 1979; Stryker & Statham, 1985).

Furthermore, individuals who are especially important to us will ultimately have the greatest impact on the development of our self-views (Shrauger & Schoeneman, 1979). Symbolic interactionism is usually invoked to account for the initial development of the self-concept, but the principles apply equally well at all ages of the life span. At any point in time, those who are closest to us, be they a relative, romantic partner, friend, or imaginary idol, are most likely to influence our identity.

Research generally supports the hypothesis that individuals' self-views are related to their perceptions of how others view them. However, there is less agreement between peoples' self-views and others' actual views of individuals (Shrauger & Schoeneman, 1979). Research has also shown that interpersonal feedback influences the self-concept as a function of how individuals believe the feedback is perceived by others (Jussim, Soffin, Brown, Ley, & Kohlhepp, 1992).

What has not yet been examined is how individuals interpret experiences that happen to close others, and how their interpretation is related to the close other's self views. As mentioned earlier, individuals often receive either direct or indirect feedback about the people close to them. How the individual interprets and communicates the interpretation to the close other could have an impact on the other's self-views. Addressing how close others process

feedback about one another is actually dealing with the initial stage of the symbolic interactionist process. That is, the individual receives information about the close other, processes the information, communicates his or her evaluation of the information to the close other, which ultimately influences the identity of the close other.

The differential evaluation, interpretation, and use of the negative information among close and nonclose others found in the present research is likely to influence the close other's identity. Within the context of romantic relationships, future research is needed to examine how individuals in competitive relationships communicate the implications of evaluative feedback to one another, and how such communication influences the identities of the individuals in the relationship.

Tesser's (1988) Self-evaluation Maintenance Model

As mentioned in the research review, Tesser's (1988) self-evaluation model (SEM) addresses how the performance of close others influences self-evaluations. A number of problems with the SEM model were noted, including conceptualizing closeness as a dichotomous variable (e.g. friend versus stranger), failing to take into account situations where a close other's performance is not explicitly compared to one's own performance, and failing to take into account the social context into which the performance of close others is often embedded. The results

of the present research buttress each of the critiques of the SEM model.

Considering the problem of conceptualizing closeness as a dichotomous variable, the results of Study 2 indicate that competitiveness, the dimension that perhaps best captures the tendency for subjects in Tesser's (1988) studies to compete with close others when they outperform participants on an important dimension, heavily influenced the behavior of subjects toward their romantic partners. Subjects who reported competing with their romantic partner were more likely to present their partner in an unfavorable manner, evidenced less of an "other-serving" attributional bias, and were more likely to let their perceptions of their partner be influenced by negative feedback. These effects were observed even though the performances of the romantic partner were not being compared to the subject. The effects of competitiveness should be especially magnified when the subject is being explicitly compared to the romantic partner. The role of relationship variables within Tesser's (1988) SEM model remains a fertile area for future research.

The present research assessed how individuals regulate the identity of close and nonclose others when the performance of the other is not compared to the subject. Subjects in both studies responded more favorably to close others than to nonclose others, both in how they interpreted the feedback and how they presented their partner.

Apparently, when there is no explicit comparison of subjects to their romantic partner, subjects do not compete with their partner, but rather attempt to help their partner create a desired identity. Subjects in the present research received both positive and negative feedback about their close others. Future research is needed to manipulate the valence of feedback in a between-subjects design to more strongly test whether close others would respond favorably to their partner's receipt of positive or negative feedback.

Finally, the present research indicates the importance of the social context in which responses to close others take place. In Studies 1 and 2, subjects were especially likely to present close others more favorably than nonclose others when the audience was aware of the prior performance feedback. It may be that when a close other's identity is at stake, the types of processes posited by the SEM model are attenuated.

Limitations of the Present Research

Having discussed the results and the potential implications of the present research, it is also necessary to address the limitations of the work. In the present research subjects presented their partner through ratings on a questionnaire. Although the use of a questionnaire for presentation provides an objective measure of favorability of presentation, it is probably rare that individuals in close relationships ever present one another through ratings

on a piece of paper. Research examining the presentation of close others in a more naturalistic manner would be useful. This way, the identity regulation of close others could be examined through both verbal and nonverbal communication channels (Fleming, 1994).

A second limitation of the present research was that subjects were completely disconnected from each other throughout the entire study. This disconnection was necessary from the methodological standpoint of having both subjects believe they were research assistants, as well as from a desire to eliminate the uncontrollable sources of variability associated with subjects communicating with each other. Research addressing how close others regulate each other's identity when they are allowed to communicate would perhaps have resulted in stronger effects of the independent variables, and would address how individuals work together in "teams" (Goffman, 1959) to achieve desired identities.

Finally, the present research assessed the effects of feedback on the identity regulation of others by providing subjects with both positive and negative feedback about their partner. This manner of providing feedback was chosen so that the credibility of the bogus feedback would be higher (Snyder et al., 1977). However, providing subjects with positive and negative feedback about their partner may have muted the effects of the other independent variables. That is, subjects might be especially likely to come to the

aid of a close other when an audience is aware of only negative feedback about the partner. It would be interesting to examine if the effects in the present research are magnified when subjects receive either positive or negative feedback about their partner, rather than both types of feedback.

Conclusions

The present research indicates the utility of examining how individuals manage not only the identities of themselves, but of close others as well. The results indicate there are both similarities and differences in how individuals manage the identities of self and others, and that aspects of how individuals view their relationship partner influence the identity regulation of close others. Future research is needed to examine further the identity regulation techniques individuals employ for close others, whether favorable identity regulation of close others is related to relationship strength and duration, and how the interpretation of events by individuals in close relationships ultimately influences the identities of the individuals involved in the relationship.

APPENDIX A
RELATIONSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

We are interested in the factors that determine various aspects of relationships. Therefore, we would like you to answer the questions below regarding the person you have brought to the experiment with you.

1. What is your friend's name (first name only) _____.
2. How long have you known your friend? (Indicate the number of years and months) _____ years, _____ months.
3. During the past week, what is the average amount of time, per day, that you have spent alone with your friend?
_____ Hour(s) _____ Minutes
4. Do you and your friend participate in many different activities together, or do you participate in only a few activities together.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Only a Few

Many Different

Activities

Activities

5. How much influence does your friend currently have on your thoughts, feelings, and behavior?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not Much

Moderate

A Great Deal

Influence

Influence

of Influence

6. How strong would you rate your relationship with your friend?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at all	Moderately	Very
Strong	Strong	Strong

7. How close does your relationship with your friend compare with your ideal for such a friendship?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Falls Short	Approaches	Meets
of Ideal	Ideal	Ideal

Please respond to the following items on the scale given below. Please indicate your answer in the space provided to the left of the item. Again, complete these items imagining the person listed above.

1. _____ My friend is like an extension of myself.
2. _____ To say something bad about my friend is also to say it about me.
3. _____ My friend and I are like two sides of the same coin.
4. _____ I think of my friend as part of myself.
5. _____ To say something good about my friend is also to say it about me.
6. _____ My friend and I are like "two peas in a pod."
7. _____ To judge my friend is also to judge me.
8. _____ My friend and I have a great deal in common.
9. _____ My friend and I are similar in most respects.

10. _____ My friend's needs are about as important to me as my own.
11. _____ I would do nearly anything to help my friend.
12. _____ If my friend were in trouble, I would help at once no matter what the cost.
13. _____ My friend's welfare is one of my major concerns.
14. _____ My friend's feelings are as important to me as my own.
15. _____ I truly care about my friend's well-being.
16. _____ Other people judge me based in part on what my friend does.
17. _____ If my friend does something wrong, it reflects negatively on me in the eyes of other people.
18. _____ When other people think about my friend, they also think about me.
19. _____ If my friend does something good, it reflects positively on me in the eyes of other people.
20. _____ I usually try to put myself in my friend's shoes and see things from my friend's perspective.
21. _____ When my friend and I disagree, I usually realize there are two sides to every question and try to see things from my friend's point of view.
22. _____ I find it easy to predict what my friend will do in most situations.
23. _____ I can usually imagine exactly what my friend is feeling or thinking.

24. _____ When my friend feels happy, I feel happy, too.
25. _____ When my friend feels sad, I feel sad, too.
26. _____ When my friend fails, I feel terrible inside.
27. _____ My friend's moods influence my own moods.
28. _____ If my friend is hurt, it hurts me, too.
29. _____ When my friend succeeds, I feel marvelous inside.
30. _____ My friend and I often compete and try to outdo one another.
31. _____ When we play games, I hate to lose to my friend.
32. _____ I can't stand it if my friend gets the better of me.
33. _____ When my friend does poorly, it makes me feel superior.
34. _____ When my friend does well, it makes me feel inferior.
35. _____ When my friend does poorly, I try to come up with an explanation that makes my friend feel better.
36. _____ When my friend performs well, I try to make sure that my friend gets personal credit.
37. _____ I try to emphasize my friend's good points and downplay my friend's bad points.
38. _____ I try to bring out the best in my friend through encouragement and support.
39. _____ I give considerable emotional support to my friend.
40. _____ My friend is able to count on me in times of need.

THE DRAW A PERSON TEST OF PERSONALITY

Dr. James Schmidt

Yale University

Individual's Name: _____

Please use the space below to draw a person. The only restriction is that you draw a whole person, not just part of a person. Please take 5 minutes to complete this test.

APPENDIX B
INFORMED CONSENT

Study Title: Determinants of Friendship Formation

Supervisor: Dr. Barry Schlenker

Office: PSY 260

Phone: 392-0526

This study will take approximately 90 minutes to complete and you will be given 3 research credits for participation. You will actually participate in two separate studies, one involving the determinants of friendship, and the other involving the impact of personality and written information on impression formation and social interaction. In the first study you will be asked to complete questionnaires regarding your relationship with your friend. In the second study you will either participate in a social interaction or serve as a researcher's helper for the social interaction.

Your participation is voluntary and you do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. Your responses will remain completely anonymous. An arbitrary number will replace your name at the completion of the study. You possess the right to terminate participation in this study at any point. Your signature below indicates

that you have read the description of the present study and voluntarily agree to participate.

I have read and I understand the procedure described above.

I agree to participate in the procedure and I have received a copy of this description.

Participant (signature)

Date

Participant (please print)

Experimenter

Date

APPENDIX C
GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS: STUDY 1

The first study is concerned with what makes one person like another person. You can probably think of many factors that come into play when you think about what makes you like another person. You may seek trust and support from a friend, while another person might want strength and caring. In this study we are examining what factors people generally seek in a friend. To accomplish this goal, we ask you to complete a series of questions designed to examine certain aspects of yourself and your relationship with the friend you brought with you to this study.

Please turn this page and complete the attached questionnaires. Let the experimenter know when you are finished and if you have any questions.

APPENDIX D
GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS: STUDY 2

The second study is designed to examine the impact of people's personality and written information on how people form impressions of others. In addition, we are interested in how these impressions, once formed, influence social interaction. You have probably heard of the saying "You never get a second chance to make a first impression." Well, in the present study we are examining how different kinds of information influence the impressions people form of others, and then looking at how these impressions guide social interactions. For example, if I have an impression of someone who is cold and distant, that impression may influence how I act toward that person.

Specifically, we are interested in the role of written information on how people form impressions of others. There are many times in life when written information has a big influence on the impressions that people form of someone. For example, when a student gets a professor to write him or her a letter of recommendation for a potential job, the information the professor writes will likely have a major effect on the impression that the potential employer forms of the person. In addition, if the individual gets a job interview, then the impression the potential employer has

formed may influence how the employer acts toward the individual.

In addition, we are exploring the role of personality in impression formation. People with different types of personalities are likely to give off different types of impressions. For example, someone who is very extraverted may create the impression of being outgoing and talkative. These impressions, once formed, can influence how others act towards the individual.

This second study involves four and sometimes eight different participants. Other participants have arrived at other rooms. Two types of participants are required. We need some of the participants to interact with one another. These participants will engage in a brief interaction after they are given information about one another. We need a second set of subjects to serve as researcher's assistants. When an individual expects to meet another person, their goals and wishes may influence the impressions they give off through written information. In the present study we want to examine the impact of written information on impression formation and interaction that is not influenced by the motives and wishes of the people actually engaging in the interaction. Therefore, we will need researcher's assistants to provide written information for one of the participants in the social interaction. This also prevents the researcher from knowing the information that is being

given to the participants. This is called "running blind." You may have heard about the problems that can occur when researchers are aware of a participant's responses during critical periods of the study. If the researcher is not "blind," then he or she may unwittingly treat participants in ways that contaminate the results. The results of the present study will not be seen by the researcher, and instead will be given to a different experimenter to be analyzed at another date.

Therefore, we will need some participants to serve as researcher's assistants, which involves completing the "Impression Questionnaire" (written information) for one of the participants in the interaction, and also answering questions regarding the procedure and other aspects of the study.

As already mentioned, four and sometimes eight people participate in each session of the study. Therefore, we first need to pair you randomly with another participant. Then, for each pair, we again flip a coin to determine whether you will engage in a social interaction or serve as a researcher's assistant. This random assignment has already been done.

The next page tells you who you were paired with and your role in the experiment.

APPENDIX E
PAIRING SHEET

You have been randomly paired with _____
during this session and have been assigned the role of:

Participant in Social Interaction

Researcher's Assistant

The person who will be interacting with your partner is

_____.

Specific instructions concerning your particular role appear
on the next page.

APPENDIX F
SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS: RESEARCH ASSISTANT

You have been assigned the role of researcher's assistant for the rest of the study. As a researcher's assistant, you will complete an "Impression Questionnaire" for the individual you are paired with. This Impression Questionnaire will be given to the person who will be interacting with your partner. In addition, as a researcher's assistant, your perceptions of the present study are very important. Therefore, after you complete the Impression Questionnaire, you will be asked some questions regarding the study.

In just a couple of minutes, we will give you the results of your partner's Draw a Person Test of Personality (DAP), the last test completed in the first study, so that you can have a feel for what your partner is like. The personality test is designed to give you some information about your partner, and you can choose to use or not to use this information when completing the Impression Questionnaire. A description of the DAP, as well as feedback indicating how your partner performed on the test, will be given to you in a couple of minutes.

APPENDIX G
THE DRAW A PERSON TEST OF PERSONALITY (DAP)
SCORING AND VALIDITY

Personality tests enable psychologists to measure and predict personal characteristics and human behavior. Some tests rely on explicit verbal questions and self-report answers - these are objective tests. Projective tests are less structured and rely on personal reactions to ambiguous visual stimuli. The DAP that your partner completed is a type of projective test because his or her drawings are not constrained by a predetermined format.

The DAP is based on the premise that we can predict certain personality patterns and behaviors from a drawing of a human figure. The test taker expresses his or her attitudes and feelings toward themselves, others, and societies through their drawing just as artists express their personal strengths and weaknesses through their paintings. The drawing that the test taker completes often represents an attempt to portray their "ideal self", although research has shown that the test taker's "true" personality is also revealed. In essence, the picture drawn represents the test taker and the test taker's reactions to others.

Many studies have provided evidence for the validity of the DAP and scores are generally consistent between different raters. Scores on the DAP have been found to significantly predict behavior in a variety of settings, and the test is commonly used in a variety of organizations and businesses.

Because of time limitations, the analysis of your partner's DAP test has been limited to two dimensions relevant to interpersonal encounters. The first dimension is open-mindedness, which refers to the tendency to be tolerant of others, and to consider all sides of an issue when forming an opinion. The second dimension is trustworthiness, the extent to which an individual can be counted on to fulfill obligations and promises.

In the following pages you will find your partner's DAP, and the computer-generated feedback your partner received on the test. The use of a computer to score the DAP has been thoroughly validated through comparisons of computer-generated feedback with clinician ratings. Please read the feedback carefully. The feedback was placed in the envelope by the computer operator, so the researcher cannot see the feedback. The feedback is designed to give you a feel for what your partner is like.

DAP Feedback

Test taker: _____

Trait: Open-mindedness

The test taker received a score of 24 on the component of the DAP which measures open-mindedness. This places the test taker in the 92th percentile of college students who have previously taken the DAP. This means that 92% of college students scored below the test taker on this component and that 8% scored above the test taker.

The test taker's score on this component of the DAP is indicative of someone who is understanding and willing to listen to other people express their ideas and opinions. The test taker appears open to different opinions, and is not unduly rigid in his or her judgments of others. The test taker appears to be the type of person that respects people for who they are, instead of imposing his or her own views on others.

Trait: Trustworthiness

The test taker received a score of 8 on the component of the DAP which measures trustworthiness. This places the test taker in the 30th percentile of college students who have previously taken the DAP. This means that 30% of college students scored below the test taker on this component and that 70% scored above the test taker.

The test taker's score on this component of the DAP is indicative of someone who cannot really be relied on to come

through when times are tough. Although the test taker may value trustworthiness, the test taker actually has a difficult time sticking to his or her commitments and fulfilling his or her responsibilities. The test taker cannot always be counted on to tell the truth, and has a tendency to not think about how what he or she says may affect others.

DAP Feedback

Test taker: _____

Trait: Open-mindedness

The test taker received a score of 8 on the component of the DAP which measures open-mindedness. This places the test taker in the 30th percentile of college students who have previously taken the DAP. This means that 30% of college students scored below the test taker on this component and that 70% scored above the test taker.

The test taker's score on this component of the DAP is indicative of someone who, although wanting to be tolerant, is more likely to be unwilling to understand and listen to other people express their own ideas and opinions. The test taker does not appear open to different opinions, and may be unduly rigid in his or her judgements of others. The test taker appears to be the type of person that imposes his or her own views on others, rather than letting people be themselves.

Trait: Trustworthiness

The test taker received a score of 24 on the component of the DAP which measures trustworthiness. This places the test taker in the 92th percentile of college students who have previously taken the DAP. This means that 92% of college students scored below the test taker on this component and that 8% scored above the test taker.

The test taker's score on this component of the DAP is indicative of someone who can be relied on to come through when times are tough. The test taker tends to stick to his or her commitments and fulfills his or her responsibilities. The test taker can be counted on to tell the truth, yet also know when not to divulge information that may harm someone else.

APPENDIX H
IMPRESSION QUESTIONNAIRE

Participant: _____

This impression questionnaire will be given to the person with whom your partner is interacting. Your responses are completely confidential. Neither your partner nor the person interacting with your partner will know that you completed this questionnaire. In addition, the researcher will not see your responses to this questionnaire. Please place the questionnaire in the enclosed envelope.

PART A

Instructions. Please rate the extent to which each of the following adjectives describes the participant named above, using the following scale:

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at all

Moderately

Very

Descriptive

Descriptive

Descriptive

1. _____ tolerant
2. _____ unfair
3. _____ polite
4. _____ greedy
5. _____ honest
6. _____ insincere
7. _____ intelligent

8. _____ mature
9. _____ lenient
10. _____ obnoxious
11. _____ spiteful
12. _____ dependable
13. _____ happy
14. _____ humorous
15. _____ believable
16. _____ irresponsible
17. _____ understanding
18. _____ unaccepting
19. _____ punctual
20. _____ humane
21. _____ mean
22. _____ unreliable
23. _____ close-minded
24. _____ unconscientious
25. _____ unfaithful
26. _____ loud-mouthed
27. _____ reputable
28. _____ strict
29. _____ uncompromising
30. _____ merciful

Participant: _____

PART B

Instructions. Please rate the extent to which the participant named above would agree or disagree with the following statements, using the following scale:

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at all	Moderately	Very
Descriptive	Descriptive	Descriptive

- _____ 1. I consider myself broad-minded and tolerant of other people's lifestyles.
- _____ 2. I believe letting students hear controversial speakers can only confuse and mislead them
- _____ 3. I have an optimistic outlook towards life.
- _____ 4. I like to have a lot of attention focused on me when I am with a group of people.
- _____ 5. I try to perform all tasks assigned to me conscientiously.
- _____ 6. Sometimes I am not as dependable or reliable as I should be.
- _____ 7. I believe that laws and social policies should change to reflect the needs of a changing world.
- _____ 8. I am always willing to listen to someone else's opinion, no matter how different from my own.
- _____ 9. I am good at getting to know other people.

- _____ 10. When I talk with others, I like to listen to what they have to say rather than talk about myself.
- _____ 11. When I make a commitment, I can always be counted on to follow through.
- _____ 12. I can be counted on to help people in need.
- _____ 13. I often doubt my ability to perform well in academic settings.
- _____ 14. I am often in a negative mood.
- _____ 15. I often show up late for appointments and meetings.
- _____ 16. Sometimes I am not completely honest when I talk with others.
- _____ 17. Once I have made up my mind about something, I am not open to new information.
- _____ 18. I think that if people don't know what they believe in by the time they're 25, there's something wrong with them.

APPENDIX I
PERCEPTIONS OF RESEARCHER'S ASSISTANT

Please answer each and every question below. We realize that you may not feel as if you have enough information to answer some of the questions. Some of the questions depend on your "best guess" and you may be uncertain about how to respond. Nonetheless, prior research has discovered that the perceptions of research assistants are often valuable in providing key information about the procedure, the DAP test, and the test taker. Even vague intuitions can be useful. Thus, give us your best guess to each item; answer every item and do not skip any. Circle the number after each question that best represents your answer.

PART A

How interesting is the DAP test for your partner?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

dull average interesting

Do you think the guidelines for scoring the DAP are clear?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at all	Moderately	Very
1	2	3
4	5	6
7	8	9
10	11	12
13	14	15
16	17	18
19	20	21
22	23	24
25	26	27
28	29	30
31	32	33
34	35	36
37	38	39
40	41	42
43	44	45
46	47	48
49	50	51
52	53	54
55	56	57
58	59	60
61	62	63
64	65	66
67	68	69
70	71	72
73	74	75
76	77	78
79	80	81
82	83	84
85	86	87
88	89	90
91	92	93
94	95	96
97	98	99
100	101	102
103	104	105
106	107	108
109	110	111
112	113	114
115	116	117
118	119	120
121	122	123
124	125	126
127	128	129
130	131	132
133	134	135
136	137	138
139	140	141
142	143	144
145	146	147
148	149	150
151	152	153
154	155	156
157	158	159
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322	323	324
325	326	327
328	329	330
331	332	333
334	335	336
337	338	339
340	341	342
343	344	345
346	347	348
349	350	351
352	353	354
355	356	357
358	359	360
361	362	363
364	365	366
367</		

Clear Clear Clear

How enjoyable is the DAP test for your partner?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

unenjoyable average enjoyable

How difficult is the DAP test?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

easy average difficult

How much do you think your partner cared about doing well on the DAP test?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

not at all moderately a great
deal

How much effort do you think your partner put into doing well on the DAP test?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

little effort moderate effort a great deal
of effort

How personally responsible is your partner, based on your partner's ability and effort, for his or her performance on the DAP test?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

low moderate High
responsibility responsibility responsibility

How responsible were factors outside of your partner's ability and effort (such as the test taker's mood, distractions in the situation, luck) for your partner's performance on the DAP test?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

low moderate High

responsibility responsibility responsibility

Do think your partner was at his or her best today?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

At Worst	Average	At Best
for Your Partner	for Your Partner	for Your Partner
If your partner were to take a different version of the DAP		
test again, do you think he or she would do about the same,		
better, or worse?		

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Much About Much

Worse the Same Better

How much control did your partner have over his or her performance on the DAP test?

	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7	
Very Much		Not at All
Under Own		Under Own
Control		Control

PART B

The preceding questions referred to your overall perceptions of the DAP test. However, we are also interested in your perceptions of each of the DAP components (open-mindedness and trustworthiness). Therefore, please answer the following questions, which refer specifically to the components of the DAP.

How difficult is the open-mindedness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

easy average difficult

Do you think the guidelines for scoring the open-mindedness component of the DAP are clear?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at all Moderately Very

Clear Clear Clear

How much do you think your partner cared about doing well on the part of the DAP relevant to open-mindedness?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

not at all moderately a great deal

How much effort do you think your partner put into doing well on the open-mindedness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

little effort moderate effort a great deal
of effort

How personally responsible is your partner, based on your partner's ability and effort, for his or her performance on the open-mindedness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

low moderate High

responsibility responsibility responsibility

How responsible were factors outside of your partner's ability and effort (such as the test taker's mood,

distractions in the situation, luck) for your partner's performance on the open-mindedness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

low	moderate	High
responsibility	responsibility	responsibility

If your partner were to take a different version of the DAP test again, do you think he or she would do about the same, better, or worse on the open-mindedness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Much	About	Much
Worse	the Same	Better

How much control did your partner have over his or her performance on the open-mindedness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Very Much	Moderately	Not at All
Under Own	Under Own	Under Own
Control	Control	Control

How difficult is the trustworthiness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

easy average difficult

Do you think the guidelines for scoring the trustworthiness component of the DAP are clear?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at all	Moderately	Very
Clear	Clear	Clear

How much do you think your partner cared about doing well on the part of the DAP relevant to trustworthiness?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

not at all moderately a great deal

How much effort do you think your partner put into doing well on the trustworthiness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

little effort moderate effort a great deal
of effort

How personally responsible is your partner, based on your partner's ability and effort, for his or her performance on the trustworthiness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

low moderate High
responsibility responsibility responsibility

How responsible were factors outside of your partner's ability and effort (such as the test taker's mood, distractions in the situation, luck) for your partner's performance on the trustworthiness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

low moderate High
responsibility responsibility responsibility

If your partner were to take a different version of the DAP test again, do you think he or she would do about the same, better, or worse on the trustworthiness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Much	About	Much
Worse	the Same	Better

How much control did your partner have over his or her performance on the trustworthiness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Very Much	Moderately	Not at All
Under Own	Under Own	Under Own
Control	Control	Control

How open-minded do you think your partner really is (irrespective of DAP test score)?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at All	Somewhat	Very
Open-minded	Open-minded	Open-minded

How trustworthy do you think your partner really is (irrespective of DAP test score)?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at All	Somewhat	Very
Trustworthy	Trustworthy	Trustworthy

How well do you think the DAP test measures open-mindedness?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at All Well	Moderately Well	Very Well
-----------------	-----------------	-----------

How well do you think the DAP test measures trustworthiness?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at All Well	Moderately Well	Very Well
-----------------	-----------------	-----------

APPENDIX J
QUESTIONNAIRE ADDENDUM

Your responses to this form are private and anonymous; they will be scored later by a different researcher.

How well do you think your partner will perform during the social interaction?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7
not at all moderately very well
well well

How much influence do you think the Impression Questionnaire will have on how your partner performs during the interaction?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7
no a moderate a great deal
influence influence of influence

How much influence do you think the Perceptions of Researcher's Assistant form you just completed will have on the social interaction?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7
no a moderate a great deal
influence influence of influence

How well did your partner perform on the open-mindedness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at All Well Moderately Well Very Well

How well did your partner perform on the trustworthiness component of the DAP?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at All Well Moderately Well Very Well

How important is the trait of open-mindedness to your partner's view of his or her self?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

not at all moderately very
important important important

How important is the trait of trustworthiness to your partner's view of his or her self?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

not at all moderately very
important important important

How comfortable were you in describing your partner on the Impression Questionnaire?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

not at all moderately very
comfortable comfortable comfortable

How comfortable were you in describing your partner on the Perceptions of Researcher's Helper form you just completed?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

not at all moderately very
comfortable comfortable comfortable

How well or poorly do you think you would do on the open-
mindedness component of the DAP

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

poorly

average

well

How well or poorly do you think you would do on the
trustworthiness component of the DAP

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

poorly

average

well

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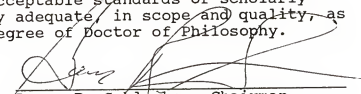
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

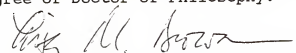
Thomas Watson Britt was born in Ft. Lee, Virginia, on Feb. 21, 1966. His father was a career army officer, so Tom moved around quite frequently while growing up. Tom earned his B.A from the College of William and Mary in 1988, and his M.A. from Wake Forest University in 1990. After receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Florida, Tom plans to serve as a research psychologist in the United States Army for four years, and then assume an academic position at a university that supports both teaching and research.

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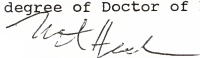
Barry R. Schlenker, Chairman
Professor of Psychology

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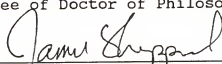
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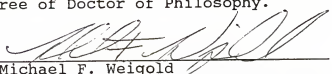
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This thesis was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Psychology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1994

Dean, Graduate School